2019

Wartime volunteering and social change in postsocialist Ukraine

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Dissertation

WARTIME VOLUNTEERING AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN POSTSOCIALIST UKRAINE

by

CHRISTINA OLHA JARYMOWYCZ

B.A., Cornell University, 2006
A.M., Harvard University, 2009

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

2019

Approved by

First Reader _____

Alya Guseva, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Sociology

Second Reader _____

Ashley Mears, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Sociology

Third Reader _____

Susan Eckstein, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my grandparents Petro and Paraskewia Mosuriak and Roman and Daria Jarymowycz.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The main contributors to this dissertation were the wartime volunteers of Ukraine who shared their experiences with me and allowed me to accompany them during their work. I am particularly grateful to the volunteers of Kyiv's Central Military Hospital for their help in this project. In addition, my research in Ukraine would not have been possible without the support of the Fulbright Program and its administrators in Kyiv. In Boston, the analysis of this field work was further enabled by the support of Boston University and the Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship.

This dissertation is a product of many years of study and critical analysis under the guidance of the Department of Sociology at Boston University. I am grateful to my co-advisors Professors Alya Guseva and Ashley Mears for their support and invaluable insights into my research during this time and am equally thankful to other faculty members for their knowledge and encouragement, including Professors Catherine Connell, Susan Eckstein, Julian Go, Joseph Harris, and Ana Villarreal. Moreover, I'm indebted to my fellow graduate students, with whom I shared both inspirations and frustrations. In particular, I'd like to thank Emily Bryant, Taylor Cain, Pamela Devan, Whitney Gecker, Alaz Kilicaslan, and Meghan Tinsley for their friendship and support. In addition to professors and colleagues, I'm grateful to my students, who were central in making me a better scholar and teacher of sociology. Finally, my work at Boston University would not have been possible without the support of departmental administrators, Anna Bakanova, Sarah Jordan, and Hannah Walters.

Outside of the university, I have been very lucky to have had several circles of support throughout my doctoral studies. During my field work in Kyiv, I never felt lonely thanks to Zoe Ripecky, Martha Pfahl, Jonathan Sánchez Leos, and Alexis Ramos. In Boston, I found a source of joy in the ballroom dance community and am indebted to my fellow dancers, partners, and coaches, in particular, Sergiy Georgiyev, Drago Guggiana Nilo, Robert Lychev, and Dmytro Matvieievskyi. I've also enjoyed the closeness of my extended family, Marta Gaglia and Chris Rycroft, as well as the visits of Maria Flavia Di Renzo, who brought us together at Chez Maman. I'm further thankful to Linda Harrison for her friendship and especially the summer days spent writing on her porch as well as the early morning sample sales we visited along with Zoe DeStories and Lihua Bai. In addition, the last months of dissertation writing were greatly improved by Melania and Andrew Nynka's move to Boston, which brought childhood friends close by once again.

Finally, I am grateful to my family and in particular my parents George and Maria and my brother Paul. My parents have been a source of love and encouragement throughout my life and – in relation to this dissertation – are the origins of my curiosity into Ukraine and my ability to research it. Meanwhile, Pavlo has always been there to help me and take my side.

The last word of thanks goes to my partner, Giorgio Gaglia, who has been a continuous source of love, happiness, and motivation in all parts of my life since even before my doctoral studies. Writing this dissertation would have been vastly more difficult without his healthy dinners, our weekend walks, and his daily hugs and words of encouragement.

WARTIME VOLUNTEERING AND SOCIAL CHANGE

IN POSTSOCIALIST UKRAINE

CHRISTINA OLHA JARYMOWYCZ

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2019

Major Professor: Alya Guseva, Associate Professor of Sociology

ABSTRACT

Within societies at war, the source of social change is not confined to the front lines of battle or the political leadership, nor are the sole effects of warfare the violent loss of life and political upheaval. War also leads to shifts in social relations and narratives through processes driven by civilian actors. In this dissertation, I examine how social life was transformed during war through the case of civilian volunteering in the Donbas conflict by drawing upon feminist scholarship on war, the sociology of gender, postsocialist studies, and the sociological literature on volunteering. This study is grounded in qualitative research conducted in Kyiv, Ukraine from September 2015 through June 2016, including eighty-two semi-structured interviews with volunteers, participant observation in volunteer networks, and secondary data derived from social media, news organizations, and government releases.

My research expands what it means to study wartime change by bringing civilians' lives and experiences into the center of such research. As volunteering entered the forefront of social life in Ukraine, it became a site for reimagining state-society relations alongside ideals of civic engagement and state care. I argue that the hybrid discourses of volunteers reflected a combination of neoliberal concepts and socialist

demands that were characteristic of a borderlands, where multiple cross-cutting discourses are negotiated by local actors.

The central role of volunteers within the war effort in Ukraine also brought visibility and status to the contributions of women, who are often invisible or constructed as secondary within wartime narratives. In effect, volunteering marked a space of gendered change during the Donbas conflict. I argue that women's volunteering both challenged and reinforced hierarchical gender structures while creating a societal space for experiencing human connection amidst conflict. My research contributes to the global study of gender and war by investigating paths towards transforming gender hierarchies. I further work to shift the feminist focus to the local realities of wartime actors, and not just questions of women's empowerment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATO ..... Anti-terrorist operation

CIS ..... Commonwealth of Independent States

CPSU..... Communist Party of the Soviet Union

EU ..... European Union

IDP ..... Internally Displaced Person

NATO ..... North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO..... Nongovernmental Organization

OHCHR..... Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

OUN..... Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

UkrSSR ..... Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

UPA..... Ukrainian Insurgent Army

WWII ..... The Second World War

GLOSSARY

Term:	Definition:
Donbas	A term that shortens the words Donetsk Basin and refers to an eastern region of Ukraine, which includes a large part of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.
Maidan	A Ukrainian word meaning public square. This term can also refer to revolution in general or the Euromaidan Revolution in particular.
Maidan Nezalezhnosti	Kyiv's central Independence Square.
Oblast	A primary administrative unit in Ukraine, which can also be translated as region. There are 24 oblasts in the country.
Raion	A subdivision of the Ukrainian oblast, which can also be translated as district.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

How does war transform social life and how do civilian actors transform societies at war? Scholarship on armed conflict typically focuses on studying the state and militant organizations as the most important spaces of decision-making and change. Such research centers on the outcomes of war at the level of violence or politics, while other transformations in civilians' lives remain underexplored. Feminist scholars of conflict argue that the scholarly focus on militaries and states reinforces the centrality of these institutions, while relegating social processes within the home or the home front, to a secondary status in the literature (Mithers 1986; Nordstrom 2005; Parashar 2014). When civilian wartime actors are discussed, they often occupy pockets of peace considered to have minor influence on the progress of war or they have their lives disrupted by the effects of violent conflict, becoming its victims.

Yet, within societies at war, social change is not confined to the front lines of battle or institutions of governance, nor are the sole effects of wartime changes the violent loss of life and political upheaval. War also leads to transformations in social relations and narratives. Moreover, actors outside of the military and the state play a key role in producing such changes. By bringing focus to social processes and actors outside of the military and state during conflict, we can gain insight into realities sidelined in the study of war and reshape the understanding of what is valuable knowledge in our research. Such a change of analytic perspective is particularly important under global conditions where most conflicts don't involve the neat division of social realities

alongside categories such as war and peace, civilian and militant. Instead, contemporary zones of conflict are oftentimes ill-defined and shifting and the distinction between civilians and militants becomes blurred.

In this dissertation I examine how social life was transformed during war through the case of civilian volunteering in the Donbas conflict in Ukraine by drawing upon feminist scholarship on war, the sociology of gender, postsocialist studies, and sociological research on volunteering. The wartime volunteer movement in Ukraine arose after the start of hostilities in the south and east of the country as the state could not adequately address the growing military and societal demands of conflict. Volunteering was both an extension of the Euromaidan as well as the mobilization of informal societal networks such as family ties, ultimately developing into the most trusted social institution amongst the Ukrainian people. As volunteering entered the forefront of social life in Ukraine, it became a site for reimagining state-society relations alongside ideals of civic engagement and state care. Furthermore, the central role of volunteers within the war effort brought visibility and status to the contributions of women, who are often invisible or constructed as secondary within wartime narratives. In effect, volunteering also marked a space of gendered change during the Donbas conflict.

In addition to analyzing societal transformations during war, this dissertation seeks to situate the oftentimes missing or mischaracterized context of postsocialist societies alongside global processes. Along with other postsocialist societies, Ukraine often falls in between categories such as developed and developing or First and Third Worlds, and becomes studied as a regional phenomenon. When Ukraine enters global

comparisons, it does so as part of assumed transitions towards the West or as a country defined under the influence of the East. Within this study, I instead call for understanding the context of Ukraine and other postsocialist societies as a space of borderlands, where multiple discourses are negotiated by local actors alongside cross-cutting historical memories and constructions of modernity and backwardness.

In this introduction, I first present background on the case of postsocialist Ukraine in order to create a foundation for the social context within which civilian volunteers operated. Next, I explain the methodology of my research, which was primarily conducted within Kyiv, Ukraine from September 2015 through June 2016. Finally, at the end of this introduction, I give a summary of the chapters to come.

Ukraine's Wartime Volunteering in Context

Introduction

A former Soviet state of approximately 45 million people, Ukraine is located on the borders of the European Union (EU) and countries of the former Soviet Union. The countries of the EU to the west of Ukraine include Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania while the former Soviet states of Belarus, Russia, and Moldova trace its borders to the north, east, and south respectively. In addition, Ukraine's southern lands, which include the contested Crimean Peninsula, are located alongside the Black Sea.

Before 1991, when Ukraine came into political existence as an independent state, its contemporary territories cycled through rule under the multitude of empires that populated the European landscape. While Kyiv was the political center of one of the

largest states in Europe in the Middle Ages, by the 17th and 18th centuries, Ukrainian lands were located on the periphery of competing world powers, which included the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Hapsburg monarchy, and the Russian Empire. By the end of the 18th century, the majority of Ukrainian territories were incorporated into the Russian Empire with the exception of western lands, which remained under Austria-Hungary. After WWII, contemporary Ukraine finally entered under the rule of a single political entity as the Soviet Union annexed the territories of Galicia, Volhynia, Bukovina, and Ruthenia from its neighbors to the west. The Crimean Peninsula was later given to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1954 as a gift from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.

Today, Ukrainian society experiences the effects of a history under competing world powers. For one, this very history is continuously interpreted and reinterpreted through divergent narratives that align Ukraine with an imagined West as well as an Eastern Russian world. Meanwhile, the centrality of the European Union and Russia on the world stage – as well as their competition for global influence – serves to magnify such discourses. In effect, Ukrainians often view themselves through the lens of competing narratives, taking on diverse identities that connect them to states of the past and present as well as political groupings that span regional, national, and international categories.

Thus, in order to ground the study of social life in Ukraine, one must assess the effects of a history on the borders of empires alongside contemporary social patterns. In this introductory section, I begin by presenting an overview of the events and memory of

the Second World War in Ukraine, a subject that lies at the very heart of historical and social divisions within the country. Next, I discuss some of the main social and political trends which have shaped Ukrainian society in recent years. Finally, in order to situate this study within its main focus – social change during conflict – I detail recent developments during the Euromaidan and the Donbas conflict, including the appearance of a wartime civilian volunteer movement.

The Memory of WWII and Identity

The Second World War was a central event within the history and political discourse of the Soviet Union. The narratives and identities that developed in relation to the war, however, did not always conform to the discourse of the Soviet leadership and differing wartime experiences served to create societal divisions across Soviet republics. In postsocialist Ukraine, the populace remains divided in its memory of WWII events, a factor that has contributed to cleavages in identity, which align with regional and ethnic differences that are themselves rooted in a history on the borders of competing world powers. The diversity in historical narratives and identities across Ukraine has become one of the defining aspects of social life in the country.

In the mid-1930s, General Secretary Josef Stalin began emphasizing a renewed "mutual friendship" amongst the Soviet people in order to construct a unified narrative across the many ethnicities of the Soviet Union and counter the spread of nationalist sentiment (Martin 2001). Later, within the Soviet narrative of WWII or the Great Patriotic War, it was this "friendship of the peoples" that ultimately led to Soviet victory

in the war. The Soviet Union had played a central role in the defeat of Nazi Germany, and consequently WWII became a defining historical event that the Soviet leadership used to build its legitimacy (Marples 2012). Other aspects of the Soviet narrative of the Great Patriotic War similarly highlighted unity across Soviet republics. For instance, the incorporation of western Ukrainian lands into the Soviet Union during the war was portrayed as a "reunification" of historically Russian territories.

While lauding unity, the Soviet narrative of WWII deemphasized or demonized internal movements of national liberation that fought against Soviet forces during the conflict. These included the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a militant formation within the newly acquired western Ukrainian territories which had actively fought for an independent Ukraine since the 1920s. During the Second World War, part of the OUN's forces were supported by Nazi Germany and participated in the brutal killing of both Poles and Jews. Later, nationalist Ukrainian groups such as the OUN fought against both the Germans and the Soviet Red Army in order to further their aims of an independent state. After the Second World War, the Soviet leadership labeled nationalist Ukrainian fighters "enemies," "traitors to the fatherland," "collaborators," and "criminals" (Hrynevych 2005).

Following the Second World War, some Ukrainians developed an affiliation with Soviet narratives of wartime victory, while others saw such narratives as contrary to their identities and experiences. In particular, the leading role of Ukrainians in the Red Army encouraged their connection to Soviet narratives, as they were placed "in the vanguard of a triumphant myth, almost on par with the Russian people" (Weiner 2001: 226).

However, some Ukrainians – particularly those who experienced violence at the hands of Soviets during the war – became invested in a national Ukrainian story that rejected the Soviet Union as foreign and illegitimate. A national Ukrainian narrative became particularly powerful within newly acquired western Ukrainian territories where during the course of WWII, Soviet forces had brutally extinguished nationalist military uprisings, suppressed civilian resistance through deportation, arrest, and execution, and eradicated the local Greek Catholic Church through incorporating it into Russian Orthodoxy.

During the course of the Soviet Union, the suppression of Ukrainian national identity and nationalist politics continued in various forms. In the 1960s and 1970s, strict control over political dissidence and cultural expression led to the censorship and arrest of Ukrainian intellectuals and artists. At the same time, the Soviet leadership carried out policies of Russification across the Soviet Union by promoting the Russian language in schools and cultural establishments. Meanwhile, Soviet narratives surrounding identity continued to deemphasize the existence of separate ethnic minorities while highlighting the unity of a single Soviet people. Towards the end of the Soviet Union, historical divisions in identity and memory in Ukraine rose to the surface amongst the populace. These divisions aligned with geography, ethnicity, and language as they mirrored histories under divergent rule to the east and west of the country. Furthermore, they reflected oppositional Soviet and national Ukrainian narratives surrounding the Second World War.

Tensions initially began in late 1989 when the Ukrainian opposition group Rukh resurrected national symbols, including the blue and yellow flag, the trident, and the anthem, "Ukraine is Not Yet Dead." In 1990, Ukrainian symbolism continued to grow in western oblasts with streets being named after the leadership of nationalist fighters in the OUN as Lenin monuments were torn down. Residents of the primarily Russian-speaking eastern and southern Ukrainian regions reacted with anger as they interpreted such acts to be a sign of bourgeois nationalism, fascist collaboration, and anti-Russian sentiment. In this way, polarized discourses became a standard of social life in Ukraine as national Ukrainian and Soviet narratives and identities were directly positioned against each other alongside powerful historical memories and regional cleavages.

Social and Political Life in Ukraine

After Ukraine's independence in 1991, there were significant regional differences in terms of how citizens viewed themselves in relation to the newly established country. Although 90% of Ukrainians had voted for independence from the Soviet Union, "yes" votes totaled in the high ninetieth percentile across western Ukraine while they amounted to around 84% in the easternmost oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk and 54% in Crimea (CSASB Ukraine 1991). Moreover, the differences in identities between the western city of Lviv and the eastern city of Donetsk were striking. A 1994 survey revealed that the two leading identities in Lviv – apart from gender identity – were Ukrainian and Lvivite (a resident of Lviv) with 73.3% and 69.6% of the population identifying as such respectively. Meanwhile, in Donetsk, the most dominant identities were Donetskite (a

resident of Donetsk) and a Soviet person, accounting for 55.6% and 40.0% of respondents respectively (Hrytsak 1998).

The strength of the Ukrainian identity in the western oblasts and the Soviet identity in the eastern ones was further connected to ethnic differences across Ukraine's territories. Within the country, Russians were the largest ethnic minority, numbering 22.1% of the population in 1989. However, citizens of Russian ethnicity made up far higher percentages of residents in Ukraine's eastern and southern territories, numbering 43.6% of the Donetsk oblast, 44.8% of the Luhansk oblast, and 65.6% of the population of Crimea. Meanwhile, citizens of Ukrainian ethnicity made up over 90% of residents in western and north central Ukrainian territories (State Statistics Service of Ukraine 2001).

In the decades following independence, the stark differences in identity and ethnicity across Ukraine's regions were mobilized by political actors alongside competing and oftentimes polarizing messages. Ukraine's first president, Leonid Kravchuk worked to establish legitimacy for his rule by emphasizing a national Ukrainian history and identity as separate from the Soviet past. His administration initiated a failed attempt to rehabilitate Ukrainian nationalist fighters of the Second World War and instituted a new history textbook, which presented them as heroes. On the other hand, the presidency of Leonid Kuchma, which began in 1994, brought a significant shift in political discourse and direction. Kuchma used the Soviet narrative of the Great Patriotic War to emphasize unity within the Ukrainian populace and a geopolitical orientation towards states of the former Soviet Union. His policies were aimed at an

eastern and southern Ukrainian electorate and focused on improving relations with Russia while attempting to make Russian a second state language (Jilge 2006).

Kuchma's presidency further marked a turn to a more authoritarian style of governance, which eventually led to resistance from both civil society groups and the political opposition. In the spring of 2000, President Kuchma held a popular referendum on several constitutional changes, which attempted to strengthen the powers of the executive and diminish those held by the legislature. Following the referendum, in early November, Heorhiy Gongadze, a journalist critical of Kuchma's government, was found decapitated in the Tarashchanskyi raion of the Kyiv oblast. A few weeks later, the socialist leader Oleksandr Moroz released tapes, which implicated the president in Gongadze's murder as well as several other crimes. These tapes led to the delegitimization of Kuchma's government, the consolidation of a political opposition, and the mobilization of tens of thousands of protesters in a movement known as "Ukraine without Kuchma." By the 2004 presidential election, opposition politicians had united with various civic groups across the country in an effort to counter the consolidation of power by Kuchma and his allies.

During the election campaign of 2004, the political rhetoric once again reflected regional divisions in historical narratives and national identities. President Kuchma and his chosen successor, Victor Yanukovych, used Soviet-era narratives of the Great Patriotic War and the "friendship of the people" to mobilize popular support. Just days before the election, the Ukrainian government held a celebration of the "60th Anniversary of the Liberation of Ukraine from the Fascist Conquerors," which included among its

participants Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliev and Russian President Vladimir Putin. On the evening before the celebration, the Russian president voiced his support for Yanukovych through the rhetoric of the Great Patriotic War. In contrast to the message of Slavic brotherhood and friendship on the side of Yanukovych, the opposition leader, Victor Yushchenko emphasized a separate Ukrainian national identity and referenced the memory of WWII-era nationalist fighters in his speeches. While this message resonated in the western regions of Ukraine, within eastern oblasts and the Republic of Crimea, Yushchenko and his party were rejected as pro-Western "occupiers," "nationalists," and "fascists."

On the morning of November 22, 2004, Kuchma's handpicked successor Viktor Yanukovych was proclaimed the winner of the presidential election. However, the result was met with widespread international criticism of the Kuchma government's abuse of administrative resources as well as claims of falsification by international election observers and Ukrainian citizens. Moreover, while the official results were called in favor of Yanukovych, a parallel vote count showed Viktor Yushchenko leading by a wide margin of 54 to 43 percent (Wilson 2005). Within a few hours of the announcement of Yanukovych's victory, thousands of Ukrainian citizens gathered on Kyiv's Independence Square or Maidan Nezalezhnosti in protest. At the head of the square, Yushchenko called upon the crowd to stay in place until the true election results were recognized. Standing at his side, another leading opposition politician, Yulia Tymoshenko pressed the populace to partake in massive displays of civil disobedience by setting up tents and taking to the streets.

The protests, which came to be known as the Orange Revolution after the colors of Yushchenko's campaign, combined the powerful forces of a united political opposition and a deeply dissatisfied segment of the Ukrainian populace. From around 5,000 supporters, the demonstrations on the Maidan grew to number over 300,000 by the second day, and expanded up to a million by the end of the week (Diuk 2006). The protests remained peaceful with demonstrators filling the main square, occupying several government buildings, and marching before the presidential administration and the parliament. After almost two weeks of protests as well as lengthy negotiations between the presidential candidates and government officials, the Supreme Court of Ukraine annulled the results of the election and scheduled new elections to be held at the end of December. On December 11, in a dramatic turn of events, Victor Yushchenko was poisoned by a deadly form of dioxin, but survived. Ultimately, he was elected president and declared the winner on January 11, 2005 by a vote count of 51.99% to 42.2% (*BBC News* 2005). Once again, the regional differences in voting patterns were significant with Yanukovych dominating within eastern oblasts as well as Crimea and Yushchenko winning by wide margins in northern and western oblasts.

Victor Yushchenko's presidency swung the pendulum of Ukrainian politics towards a national vision that rejected Soviet-era narratives and an orientation towards Russia. His government attempted to rehabilitate the Ukrainian nationalist fighters of WWII and grant them the status of veterans who contributed to a "national liberation struggle." Although this attempt failed, the president bestowed symbolic recognition on the OUN by granting a Hero of Ukraine Order to one of its leaders, Stepan Bandera

(Shevel 2011). Yushchenko's government also officially recognized the 1932-33 Holodomor famine within the UkrSSR to be a genocide of the Ukrainian people, perpetuated by the Soviet leadership. In addition to pursuing a politics focused on a Ukrainian national identity, the president attempted to promote closer relations with the European Union by working towards NATO membership and the abolishment of visa restrictions, while allowing ties with Russia to grow tense during a series of gas disputes. Ultimately, although Yushchenko's rise to power was enabled by a popular movement that called for greater fairness and democracy, his presidency was judged to be a failure on these counts as it did little to institute the rule of law or consolidate a democratic system in Ukraine (Haran 2011; Khmelko and Pereguda 2014).

On February 25, 2010, Victor Yanukovych finally attained the presidential post he had coveted five years earlier. By a vote count of 45.5 % to 49 %, he defeated his rival, Yulia Tymoshenko, who had stood at Victor Yushchenko's side during the events of the Orange Revolution. Upon taking office, Yanukovych began consolidating power by changing the very structure of Ukraine's political system. In order to form a ruling coalition, he changed the law on parliamentary procedures so as to allow individual deputies to join the governing coalition without the backing of their factions. Furthermore, he reversed the 2004 constitutional reform that had followed the Orange Revolution. This restored the 1996 Ukrainian Constitution and the president's ability to form a government and appoint top law-enforcement posts without parliamentary approval. In the international arena, Yanukovych worked on improving relations with Russia by negotiating a gas deal that allowed for the continued presence of the Russian

naval fleet in Crimea and abandoning the course towards joining NATO. Finally, in the realm of identity politics, he reinforced Soviet-era narratives within the educational system and rejected the Ukrainian national interpretation of history, such as labeling the Holodomor a genocide (Haran 2011). Yanukovych's rule was remembered for its authoritarian and coercive character, which included the overt persecution of political rivals, including his former presidential opponent Yulia Tymoshenko, who was imprisoned for abuse of authority (Kudelia 2014).

From Mass Mobilization to Conflict

Twenty years after independence, differences in identity across Ukraine's regions had diminished, but the Ukrainian public and political leadership remained divided alongside distinct visions for the future of the country. By 2010, the inhabitants of the south and east of Ukraine had grown more connected to Ukrainian nationhood, while largely abandoning their identification with the Soviet Union. Ukrainian identities appeared amongst the top identity markers in these regions, with 46.3% of residents in the east and 69.7% of residents in the south calling themselves citizens of Ukraine first and foremost. In comparison, 70.8% of residents in the center and 84.5% of residents of the west aligned themselves with this category as their primary marker of identity (Chernysh 2012). Although a majority of Ukrainian citizens identified with their country, their expectations for its future were distinct. For instance, in 2013, 59.3% of residents in the south and 76.4 % of residents in the east called for closer relations with Russia and countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Meanwhile, in Ukraine's

western and central oblasts, only 15% and 38.6% of the population favored this development, while 58.2% and 33.2% called for closer relations with the European Union (Vorona and Shulga 2013).

The regional divisions within Ukraine were exacerbated by the leadership of neighboring countries, who pressured Ukraine's government to make a strategic choice in the direction of either closer relations with the European Union or Russia. Ukraine's neighbors had grown impatient with the country's fluctuating political currents and called for clarity in its future path through either the act of signing an Association Agreement with the EU or entering the Russian-Belarusian-Kazakh Customs Union. Amongst Ukrainians, opinions were almost evenly split: 41.6% regarded future EU membership positively and 27.9% regarded it negatively, while 45.1% regarded entry into the Customs Union positively and 25.5% regarded it negatively (Vorona and Shulga 2013).

On March 30 of 2012, Victor Yanukovych's government seemed to choose a course towards closer relations with the West, beginning negotiations towards signing an Association Agreement with the EU. During the course of 2012 and 2013, the Ukrainian parliament worked to address European leaders' demands, which included passing several laws to meet EU standards and releasing political prisoners. With Ukraine's leadership poised to enact these changes, the Russian government increased economic and political pressure on its neighbor in an attempt to salvage the goal of Ukraine joining the Customs Union. On November 21 of 2013, citing economic concerns, Yanukovych's government announced that it was placing the Association Agreement with the EU on hold (Zelinska 2017).

In response to the Ukrainian leadership's suspension of work towards the Association Agreement with the European Union, a group of demonstrators gathered on Kyiv's Maidan Nezalezhnosti on the evening of November 21. Within a few days, the protests grew to number a hundred thousand participants in the capital, with smaller meetings held across the country. On November 30, as participation began to wane, Ukrainian security forces attacked the few hundred protesters remaining on the Maidan. Instead of extinguishing the movement, between 200,000 to half a million protesters flooded to the center of Kyiv. In contrast to the Orange Revolution, the demonstrators in what came to be called the Euromaidan or Revolution of Dignity were largely disconnected from the political opposition and formalized societal organizations (Khmelko and Pereguda 2014; Onuch 2014a; Zelinska 2017). While participants initially called for closer relations to the EU, the rhetoric of the protests soon evolved into a wider call for an end to political corruption and repression within Ukraine (Onuch 2014b).

During the three-month period of the Euromaidan, the protests ebbed and flowed, inflamed by police violence and political repression as well as the mass airing of protest footage within the media. Starting on December 11, 2013 in the aftermath of a police crackdown, a fortified tent camp was created on the Maidan and protesters occupied several nearby buildings. On January 16, 2014, tensions escalated as a series of anti-protest laws were passed, limiting citizens' rights to public gatherings and free speech. In response, small groups of right-wing protesters attempted to storm the government quarter and the parliament building, using Molotov cocktails and pieces of pavement as weapons. Security forces responded with light and noise grenades, tear gas, rubber

bullets, and water cannons in subzero temperatures. On January 22, unidentified sniper fire led to the first deaths in the capital, after which a temporary truce was announced, but did not last.

On February 18, 2014, Euromaidan activists began what they called a peaceful advance towards the Ukrainian Parliament, where potential changes to the Ukrainian constitution were being discussed. The peace, however, broke down as some protesters threw pieces of cobblestones at security forces, who responded with stun and smoke grenades as well as rubber bullets. By the end of the day, Yanukovych's party headquarters had been set on fire and 26 people had been killed, among them, 10 police officers (National Police 2014; Traynor and Walker 2014). The following day, transport into the capital was limited by police block posts, its center was surrounded by security forces, and the metro was shut down. At around six in the evening, security forces announced the beginning of an anti-terror operation and, two hours later, they began to storm the central protest barricades of the Maidan, using an armored vehicle, stun grenades, and water cannons. Protesters responded with fireworks, petrol bombs, and by setting fire to the barricades in order to slow the advance of security forces.

During the following forty-eight hours, at least 88 protesters were killed after Interior Minister Vitaly Zakharchenko authorized using live ammunition against them. Special forces were also attacked with many sustaining gunshot wounds, one being killed, and others taken captive by protesters (*BBC News* 2014). On February 20, in response to the growing casualties, the Ukrainian parliament issued a decree that condemned the government's use of force against civilians. The following day, in an

attempt to maintain his legitimacy, President Yanukovych signed an agreement with opposition leaders that would have led to greater limits on presidential powers and the calling of snap presidential elections in December of 2014. On the Maidan, however, this development was met with continued protests and threats of storming the presidential administration. On February 22, with a loosening grip on power, Yanukovych fled to the city of Kharkiv in eastern Ukraine and ultimately to exile in neighboring Russia. The very same day, the Ukrainian parliament voted to remove him from office for being unable to fulfill his duties as president and set the date for new presidential elections for May 25 (Zelinska 2017).

The Euromaidan protests that began in late November 2013 marked a dramatic and, in many cases, life-changing three-month period in the lives of Ukrainians. The Euromaidan was largely built on the mobilization of social networks of family and friends as well as online communities on platforms such as Facebook and vKontakte (Diuk 2014). These networks coalesced into various arms of the movement, including kitchens that fed protesters sandwiches and hot tea, cultural actors that filled the central square with speeches, concerts, and mass information, journalists and onlookers who publicized events in the capital on television and social media, as well as more radical groups that used violent means of protest, such as throwing concrete and Molotov cocktails at security forces. Furthermore, the phenomenon of the Euromaidan was not isolated to those on the streets, but entered into the homes of locals, who supplied food and medicine, and even welcomed protesters into their homes. According to a country-wide survey, around 20% of Ukrainians took part in events related to the Euromaidan,

among whom 5.1% were protesters in the capital Kyiv, 6.3% were protesters in other cities in Ukraine, and 8.9% were people who supported the protests by providing food, money, and other aid (DIF 2014).

Nevertheless, the events of the Euromaidan were not experienced in the same way by all Ukrainians. Instead, they were interpreted according to divergent narratives, an effect of regional differences in protest participation, identity, and political allegiance. The percentage of protest participation numbered 62.7% in the west, 18.7% in the center, 2 % in the south, 4.1% in the east, and 2.6% in the Donbas (DIF 2014). Moreover, while the protests were primarily viewed as a fight for civil rights in the west and center of the country, many Ukrainians living in the Donbas saw them as a coup orchestrated by the political opposition and supported by the West (DIF 2014).

The Russian government took advantage of the intensified popular cleavages within Ukraine after the Euromaidan by annexing the strategically located Autonomous Republic of Crimea. On the February 27, 2014, Russian soldiers without identifying markers began taking control of government buildings and military bases in the Crimean Peninsula, leading Ukrainian soldiers to abandon them or hand them over without the use of force. A Russian flag was raised atop the local parliament in Simferopol and a new leader was installed by pro-Russian parliamentarians in a vote that was later claimed to be falsified. Under its new leadership, the Crimean parliament voted to hold a referendum on the region joining Russia, scheduled for March 16, 2014. In preparation for the referendum, the Russian Federal Assembly voted to allow President Vladimir Putin to deploy Russian troops to the Republic of Crimea. Meanwhile, the Crimean media

presented the upcoming vote as a choice between Russia and a fascist future. The referendum, held amidst the presence of tens of thousands of Russian troops and pre-screened observers, resulted in an official count of 95.5% for unification with Russia. Afterwards, on March 18, 2014, the Russian president signed the "Treaty on the Adoption of the Republic of Crimea into Russia," which was ratified by the Russian parliament two days later.

As events in Crimea unfolded, a series of pro-Russian protests took place across eastern and southern Ukrainian cities in late February and early March 2014. Tensions escalated as armed protesters in several eastern cities declared the creation of People's Republics and called for their own referenda on joining Russia. Although pro-Russian sentiment was strong amongst the population of southern and eastern cities, and particularly in the Donbas, only a minority of residents supported active separation from Ukraine. For instance, the average of those likely or very likely to support the armed occupation of regional buildings was 11.7% in the entire south and east of Ukraine, while it amounted to 18.1% in the Donetsk oblast and 24.4% in the Luhansk oblast. Meanwhile, the percentage of those likely or very likely to take part in actions for the unification of their oblast with Russia was 15.4% in the entire south and east, 27.5% in Donetsk, and 30.3% in Luhansk (KIIS 2014).

Ultimately, the armed takeovers of government institutions in Donbas were quietly enabled by local elites and law enforcement, many of whom either failed to oppose the developments or directly supported them (Kudelia 2016). On April 15, 2014, struggling to maintain legitimacy following the recent transfer of power, the Ukrainian

government initiated a military campaign within its own borders, calling it an anti-terrorist operation or the ATO. At the start of the conflict, the separatist fighters in Donbas were largely composed of local residents. However, they were further supported by a powerful contingent of Russian and foreign actors, and, by the summer of 2014, the Russian army itself (Kudelia 2016).

This cascade of events led to the swift escalation of violence. A little over a year after the start of the Donbas conflict, over a hundred thousand people had been mobilized into the Ukrainian armed forces and approximately two million civilians had been displaced from their homes (*Unian* 2015; OSCE 2016). Although women increasingly entered the Ukrainian army at this time, the draft predominantly affected men and, more specifically, men between the ages of 25 and 60 who had previous military training, lived outside of the Donbas, and were not disqualified on medical, educational, religious, or family grounds (*TSN* 2015; Torop 2018). In addition, soon after the start of conflict, the Ukrainian government instated mandatory military service for men between 20 and 27 years of age (*BBC News* 2015).

On the other hand, women, children, and the elderly made up a majority of residents displaced from the zone of conflict. According to Ukraine's State Emergency Services, at the start of 2015, women made up 66% of the adult population of internally displaced people (IDPs), while 24% were children and another 24% were the elderly or disabled (UNHCR 2015). Meanwhile, the millions of people who remained in the expanding zone of conflict were exposed to violence and shelling, military checkpoints, damaged infrastructure, loss of income, psychological distress, and decreasing support

from the Ukrainian state (OHCHR 2016; European Commission 2018). Moreover, there were reports of sexual violence used against men and women by armed groups on both sides and the conflict increased the risk of sexual abuse against women in particular amidst deteriorating economic conditions (OHCHR 2017).

The European Commission (2018) estimates that during the course of four years of conflict, around 3.4 million Ukrainians have needed humanitarian assistance. Although violence has diminished significantly since the start of conflict, it has persisted on a daily basis with a growing count of over ten thousand killed and over twenty-five thousand injured (European Commission 2018; Ukraïns'ka Pravda 2018). According to the OHCHR (2018), around a quarter of casualties in the conflict were civilian, with 57% of these civilians being men, 36% women, and 5% children.

Meanwhile, the economic costs of war across Ukraine were nearly universal with the country's GDP falling by 50% from around $183 billion in 2013 to approximately $91 billion in 2015, while recovering to $112 billion in 2017 (World Bank 2019). This decline has manifested in struggles with decreasing real wages, rising levels of unemployment, and increasing energy prices within Ukrainian society. In a 2018 national survey, 75.4% of Ukrainians claimed that the economic situation in their country had worsened since 2013 and 15.7% of respondents were barely making ends meet (Razumkov Centre 2018).

The Volunteer Movement of the Donbas Conflict

After decades of state weakness and in the aftermath of revolutionary events, the Ukrainian government was ill-prepared to deal with the growing list of demands placed upon it by conflict. In May of 2015, Petro Poroshenko was elected as president with the promise of political reform. However, any change to come was slow and the state continued to suffer from the effects of an outdated bureaucracy, widespread corruption, and powerful elites who controlled policy for their own benefit (D'Anieri, Kravchuk, and Kuzio 1999). In the meantime, the Ukrainian army lacked essentials, ranging from uniforms and food to automobiles and firearms. Internally displaced people, many of whom were traumatized, had few possessions and limited options for shelter. Within poorly equipped hospitals, doctors and nurses encountered a shortage of staff and wartime injuries that they had never seen before.

With the Ukrainian government unable to address these burgeoning needs, networks of civilian volunteers activated around them (OSCE 2015; Olszański 2016; Worschech 2017). They aided people fleeing violence in the east by organizing the collection and distribution of household goods, clothing, and medicine as well as working to connect families with shelter. Volunteers also supported the armed forces, carrying out projects including: collecting and transporting food, camouflage nets, uniforms, trucks, and ammunition; building drones and training soldiers to operate them; providing first aid kits and medical evacuation vehicles; organizing the search for deceased soldiers as well as their transport and burial. Finally, they provided care for wounded soldiers, civilians, and their families within hospitals as well as in their homes by distributing food, hygiene products, and medications; collecting money for medical procedures or conducting them

without pay; providing psychological support and legal services; as well as recruiting foreign doctors to Ukraine and organizing medical care abroad.

Volunteering during the Donbas conflict was typically built upon informal ties that stemmed from family relationships, friendships as well as networks that formed during the Euromaidan. Due to the informality of the wartime volunteer movement, its size and demographic characteristics are difficult to quantify. Moreover, in Ukraine, the term "volunteering" is not understood in the same way across the population, and people who provide nonmonetary support to others do not always characterize their labor as such.

Nonetheless, the surveys that do exist show that at the start of the Donbas conflict, between 13% and 15% of the Ukrainian populace was taking part in volunteer activities, while this number decreased to between 9% and 12% by 2017 (GfK Ukraine 2014; DIF 2018; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Women were particularly active in volunteer work, making up between 54% and 58% of all volunteers. In addition, respondents under the age of thirty were the most likely to volunteer out of all age groups included (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Finally, people who volunteered were more likely to live in the center and west of Ukraine, have a higher level of education, and have a slightly higher income than the rest of the Ukrainian populace (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018).

At the start of the Donbas conflict, war-related volunteering was most often directed at supporting the Ukrainian army and wounded soldiers, making up 70% of all efforts. Meanwhile, 25% of volunteers were involved in helping participants of the

Euromaidan and 23% of volunteers provided aid to civilians displaced from Crimea and the Donbas (GfK Ukraine 2014). A more recent study has shown that volunteering in support of the army has continued to outpace volunteering in support of IDPs from Crimea and Donbas 3.5 times over, while volunteering in support of Euromaidan participants no longer registers in participant responses (Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Reflecting the dominance of informal organizing within the country, most Ukrainian volunteers do not classify their work as part of a particular organization, but rather consider their volunteering to be independent (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018).

Ultimately, during the Donbas conflict, volunteering became one of the most prominent institutions within Ukrainian society. Within surveys conducted amongst Ukrainians in the four years following the start of war, volunteer organizations were consistently identified as either the most trusted social institution, or the second-most trusted after the church (DIF 2016; KIIS 2017; Razumkov Centre 2017; Razumkov Centre 2019). For instance, in one representative survey conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, the percent of the Ukrainian population trusting volunteers amounted to 57.6% in 2015, 53.5% in 2016, 66% in 2017, and 62% in 2018 (KIIS 2016; KIIS 2017; KIIS 2019). The church was the only institution scoring higher in societal levels of trust than volunteers in this survey, and this was only the case in 2015 and 2016. In comparison, across the four years of the survey, the armed forces scored an average of nine percentage points lower in levels of social trust than volunteers and the Ukrainian media, an average of 31 points lower. Meanwhile, the government of Ukraine

consistently scored as one of the least trusted social institutions in the country, only outpaced in its low levels of social trust by the Russian media and the Ukrainian parliament. On average, only 9.8% of the Ukrainian public trusted its government between 2014 and 2018.

Thus, during the course of the Donbas conflict, volunteering grew both as a social practice and a societal ideal, reflected in the public's imagination. In effect, it presented an important space for exploring wartime social experiences and transformations within postsocialist Ukraine.

Methodology

Within this study, I draw upon interviews and ethnographic research conducted in Ukraine from September 2015 through June 2016 as well as secondary data, compiled from social media, news organizations, and government releases. My field work was primarily set in Ukraine's capital Kyiv, home to many of the largest and most well-known volunteer networks within the country. Within the capital, I conducted eighty-two semi-structured interviews with volunteers, who worked to support people affected by the conflict, including: soldiers demobilized or on the front lines, wounded soldiers in hospitals, internally displaced people or IDPs, as well as civilians living in areas affected by the conflict. Alongside these interviews, I attended events related to volunteering and carried out participant observation within two Kyiv hospitals and a Kyiv IDP center. In addition, I spent a week shadowing a volunteer medical evacuation group, based near the zone of conflict in the Donetsk oblast. Finally, I supplemented this primary research by

following prominent volunteers and volunteer groups on Facebook, gathering Ukrainian news reports on wartime volunteering and the conflict itself, and collecting information on government policies and actions related to volunteering.

A qualitative research approach was useful for addressing the main questions within this dissertation, namely: how does war transform social life and how do civilian actors transform societies at war? While quantitative data can provide evidence on the number of civilians impacted by conflict, for example as casualties, victims of violence and economic depression, or even as benefactors of military spending and power dynamics, qualitative research is preferred for gaining a deeper understanding of the societal conditions surrounding these numbers. Moreover, in the case of civilian actors such as wartime volunteers, adequate quantitative data became difficult to access because of the informal nature of this phenomenon. For instance, although volunteering was a visible, societal practice during the Donbas conflict in Ukraine, there were differing definitions of what characterized the practice across the populace.

Interviews

I chose semi-structured interviews as my primary research method in order to gain insight into the process of wartime volunteering as well as how volunteers imagined their labor while, at the same time, allowing respondents to shape the course of interviews in directions they found most meaningful. At the start of my research project, I was unsure of how volunteering within the Donbas conflict fit into the literature on wartime societal change. However, a review of existing research led me to focus on questions relating to

civilian women's wartime contributions, gendered change during periods of conflict as well as the relationship between state and society. Thus, I structured my interviews to address the following themes: how participants became involved in volunteer work, the content of their volunteer work, how volunteers perceived what they did, how volunteering reflected or changed women's roles in society, as well as what the relationship was between volunteer groups and government actors.

Ultimately, the data I collected through interviews was useful in revealing how volunteers imagined their work alongside gendered narratives and discourses of state-society relations. In addition, interviews helped me understand the content of volunteer work and how volunteers themselves were affected by their labor. Interviews were less appropriate for learning about the precise organization of the volunteer movement itself, for instance, the gender breakdown of volunteer networks, how exactly volunteer networks mobilized resources, as well as ties between volunteer groups or between volunteer groups and the government. This was largely due to the informality of volunteering as a practice, which made it difficult for respondents to speak about set patterns of structures and social ties. For instance, the composition of volunteers within networks was constantly shifting, resources were collected through multiple formal and informal avenues – i.e. through personal bank accounts, through the internet, within volunteering sites, during volunteering in the field – and connections between volunteer networks or between volunteer networks and the government were largely based upon close friendships and family connections.

Recruitment

During my field research, I was affiliated with the Fulbright US Scholar Program as well as the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. I initially began recruiting participants for this study through contacts at Kyiv's Fulbright Program office as well as through professors at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, who put me in touch with friends and acquaintances who were taking part in wartime volunteering. Early on in my research, I also attended several events related to the conflict and volunteering. These included a NATO workshop, entitled, "The Role of Women and Gender Policies in Addressing the Military Conflict in Ukraine" as well as a roundtable on the rights of internally displaced people. At these events, I met several volunteers, who were active in supporting wartime social issues. Finally, I directly contacted several prominent volunteers through Facebook, describing my background and research project and providing them with my contact information. When introducing myself to potential study participants, I would present myself as a graduate student from Boston University on a Fulbright grant in Ukraine, conducting research on women's volunteer work during the conflict.

After I conducted several initial interviews, I continued recruiting volunteers through snowball sampling and through making contacts at various volunteer-related events, which I attended during the course of my research. At the end of each interview, I would ask whether my interviewee would be able to put me in contact with three potential volunteers to interview in the future. At the start of my research, I would specifically ask about volunteer women across a variety of volunteering types, and by the final months of my research, I was also recruiting male participants. My interviewees

would typically provide the phone numbers or Facebook profiles of volunteers they knew since this was the primary mode of communication within Kyiv's volunteer networks. When contacting the people suggested to me by former interviewees, I would mention the name of the interviewee, who recommended that I contact them. This personal connection helped increase the response rate during the recruitment process. The main problem with this manner of recruitment was that some potential interviewees may not have received my Facebook messages.

Once an interviewee agreed to participate in the study, I would suggest meeting them for the interview at their volunteer organization or at a café close to where they were located. This usually meant that the interview would be scheduled for the very same day or – at the most – two days later. The short time period between contacting volunteers and their interviews was likely due to the changeability in respondents' schedules, which was often connected to their volunteer work. In addition to the challenge of scheduling interviews at short notice, volunteer organizations were sometimes difficult to find, particularly when they were informal groups and, thus, not advertised on the buildings that housed them. Moreover, some volunteer groups were located in spaces that were empty due to their lack of use and, therefore, did not resembled places where organizations would be based. Unfortunately for volunteers working in such locations, they also often lacked heating in the winter.

Interviews with volunteers usually lasted around an hour. All but five were recorded upon respondents' assent. When interviews were conducted at a volunteering site, interviewees would also typically take me on a short tour of their organization.

When interviews were conducted in a café, I would usually pay for the coffee or tea consumed during the visit. In time, I became adept at doing so discreetly while volunteers filled out a short demographics sheet that I would give them after interviews. In general, volunteers were enthusiastic study participants and many of them seemed accustomed to speaking with others about their work. This was particularly true of volunteers, who were in leadership positions within their groups, and thus regularly communicated within the public through Facebook or various media outlets. Other study participants regarded the interviews as an opportunity to – sometimes emotionally – reflect upon their work. A final source of volunteers' readiness to participate in the study was that some regarded me as a foreigner with Ukrainian roots, who could potentially have an impact on their work through writing about it abroad or connecting them to diaspora networks.

Throughout the recruitment process, I used the term volunteer or former volunteer to find eligible study participants. When doing so, I did not place any restrictions on who would qualify as a volunteer, but rather allowed my contacts and interviewees to self-identify themselves and others as such. This meant that my interviewees reflected the understanding of the term volunteer in Ukraine, and Kyiv specifically, at the time of the study.

Sample

As I began my research in Kyiv with an interest in women's contributions to the war effort, I primarily recruited volunteer women at the start of my field work and interviewed a smaller number of volunteer men later on in the study. Ultimately, my

sample consisted of sixty-five women and seventeen men across a range of age groups and volunteering types. The demographic characteristics of my interviewees – including gender, age, education level, nationality, and volunteering type – can be found in Table 1, located below. My findings are, therefore, not generalizable across the population of wartime volunteers in Ukraine during the Donbas conflict. Nevertheless, they show some similarity to trends within volunteering observed in national surveys.

	Women	**Men**
Total	65	17
Age		
18-29	30	4
30-39	15	12
40-49	16	1
50-59	4	0
Education Level		
Postsecondary Degree	47	15
Incomplete Postsecondary Degree	9	2
Secondary Education	7	0
N/A	2	0
Nationality		
Ukrainian	60	16
Russian	1	0
Ukrainian and Russian	1	0
Jewish	0	1
Polish	1	0
N/A	2	0

	Women	Men
Volunteering Type		
Armed Forces Support	41	13
Civilian Humanitarian Aid	21	6
Hospital Support to Army	21	4

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

Participants within this study reflected national patterns in volunteering through the focus of their work as well as the informality of how they were organized. For instance, the vast majority of the volunteers in this study – approximately 83% – aided the army and the wounded while 33% supported civilians displaced from or living alongside the zone of conflict. Similarly, surveys on wartime volunteering in Ukraine show that volunteering in support of the armed forces was around three times more prevalent than volunteering in support of IDPs (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Moreover, the work of the volunteers within this study typically began outside of formal institutional structures on the basis of networks from the Maidan as well as family ties and social media connections. This resembled trends within larger surveys of volunteers, which showed high levels of informality in their affiliation (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Within this study, only 5 of 82 respondents volunteered at organizations, whose origins predated the Euromaidan and 11 spoke of taking part in volunteer initiatives prior to the protests. Moreover, many individual volunteers viewed formalization with suspicion even as their groups were

forced to register with the government as a result of legal demands and fundraising efforts.

On the other hand, participants within this study differed from the average post-Euromaidan Ukrainian volunteer in several ways. For one, they overrepresent women as well as forms of volunteering that were dominated by women. Seventy-nine per cent of the volunteers within this study were women, compared with between 54% and 58% of volunteers in the country as a whole (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Secondly, they tended to be younger. Sixty five percent of study participants were aged 35 and under, compared with 39% of volunteers across Ukraine (GfK Ukraine 2014). Furthermore, the volunteers interviewed were involved in a more intensive type of volunteering, usually taking part in volunteer work several days a week and sometimes taking it on in a full-time capacity. In Ukraine as a whole, volunteers typically restricted volunteer efforts to once or twice a month or less (GfK Ukraine 2014; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018). Moreover, the volunteers within this study were often leaders in some of the most organized and well-known volunteer groups in the capital. In effect, they tended to be individuals with higher levels of education and a higher socio-economic status than volunteers in national surveys. Finally, the study participants were all based in Kyiv, although some had been displaced from their hometowns in the Donbas, and the vast majority of volunteers interviewed – around 90% – had taken part in the Euromaidan protests with many considering their volunteering to be an extension of them.

Volunteering and Financial Status

When filling out the demographic information sheet at the end of interviews, some volunteers were unsure of how to complete the section of the survey on their financial status. Due to changes in their income and professions since the start of the conflict, they often emphasized an overall decrease in their finances and uncertainty over how to categorize themselves alongside the options given. Moreover, many considered these options – which based financial status on the ability to buy goods, such as food, clothing, and more expensive things like electronics – less relevant to their lives during the war. In particular, the volunteer movement was based on ideals of mutual support and renouncing unnecessary expenses. This meant that despite a decrease of income, volunteers were often able to access what they considered necessary through their contacts within volunteer networks. For this reason, I have not included the data on financial status collected through the demographic survey, and instead, I present an overview of how study participants balanced their volunteering with work, family, and study or became full-time volunteers on both a paid and unpaid basis.

Volunteers emphasized that their work required intensive time commitment and self-sacrifice. While many volunteers in this study balanced work and school with their volunteering, almost half abandoned these commitments in order to support the war effort in a full-time capacity. Among them, most transformed their volunteering into paid jobs, but some left paid work altogether, living off savings as well as the help of close friends and relatives.

The volunteers of this study re-directed much of their spare time and resources towards supporting populations in need. In the most active period of the conflict, they tended to volunteer on a daily basis and in a manner that intersected with domestic and work responsibilities. Almost half of the volunteers in this study continued to work in some capacity during their volunteering. These respondents spoke of the central role that flexibility in their professional lives played in enabling volunteer work. For instance, a few respondents began volunteering during a pause in their careers; some used time and resources at work to focus on volunteering; some were able to organize volunteering around flexible forms of labor; and, a few changed jobs in order to focus more on volunteer work. In a similar manner, the flexibility of university coursework enabled students to take part in volunteering and around ten percent of respondents in the study were volunteers alongside their studies.

A little under half of volunteers within this study carried out labor in support of people affected by the Donbas conflict in a full-time capacity. Among them were twenty-eight percent of respondents, who became paid workers in organizations that were originally volunteer networks, but later began receiving grants and other forms of monetary support from donors. Meanwhile, around seventeen percent volunteered full-time without income from paid labor. These latter volunteers survived on the support of family and friends as well and by accessing savings or income from business ownership or property rentals. Six percent of the sample were supported by a male partner, who produced enough income to support them and their families. Thus, full-time volunteering without pay was primarily accessible to members of the middle to upper class, who

owned property or businesses as well as volunteers supported by family members and close friends within such middle to upper class brackets.

Language

I conducted all but one interview in Ukrainian, with interviewees responding in their language of choice — either Russian or Ukrainian. The remaining interview was conducted in English with an American respondent, who was in the midst of obtaining Ukrainian citizenship. I am fluent in both English and Ukrainian and have an advanced level of speaking and comprehension in Russian. In Ukraine, a majority of people speak both Russian and Ukrainian, being exposed to both languages on a daily basis. For example, Ukrainian is the language of a vast majority of schools in the country (95.15% in the capital), while Russian dominates television and print media (Shamayda 2016). On the streets of Kyiv, it is common to hear conversations conducted in both Russian and Ukrainian, as well as in a regional mix of the two languages, known as Surzhyk. According to a survey by the International Republican Institute (2015), 40% of Kyiv residents speak both Ukrainian and Russian at home, 32% speak only Russian, and 27% speak only Ukrainian. Conducting the interviews in Ukrainian with interviewees responding in their language of choice did not significantly influence responses, due to: (1) the typical nature of exchanges in both languages in the capital, (2) the fluency in both Russian and Ukrainian among most Ukrainians, and (3) the ability of respondents to fully understand the interview questions while responding in the language in which they were most comfortable.

Ethnographic Fieldwork

Alongside conducting interviews during my field work, I attended several events related to volunteering and the conflict, carried out participant observation within three volunteering sites, and shadowed a volunteer group near the zone of conflict. When choosing spaces for observation, I attempted to access a diverse set of public events taking place during the course of my research, related to the span of volunteering types, such as support of the armed forces, hospital labor, and aiding the internally displaced. The events that I attended included: workshops for volunteers, roundtables between citizens and government representatives, lectures on volunteering and the conflict, award presentations for volunteers and soldiers, organized food preparation and weaving of camouflage nets by volunteers, photograph exhibits and other presentations by volunteer groups, protests against government policies, and celebrations of national holidays. My choice of sites for participant observation was shaped by my identity as a foreign, female researcher with an interest in feminine forms of volunteering. In addition, I established connections with the groups that I volunteered alongside both through contacts that predated my research and through those formed with volunteers during fieldwork.

During the initial months of my research, one of my Facebook friends from childhood, who was also living in Kyiv at that time, wrote a post about a hospital volunteer group that was looking for extra help. I responded and was put in touch with the leader of the group and set up times to volunteer. The group itself was relatively small, with fewer than ten regular members and was an independent offshoot of a larger

volunteer group based at Kyiv's central military hospital. I volunteered with this group for seven weeks from late October 2015 to early December 2016. Typically, I would come to the hospital once or twice a week for two hours in the middle of the day in order to distribute lunches and talk to wounded soldiers. My main point of contact for volunteering was a young woman, whom I was helping in this task. We would usually meet near a hospital storage closet where volunteer supplies were kept and make our way through the hospital, asking nurses whether there were any ATO soldiers present in their divisions. Although our volunteering was built on distributing lunches and toiletries to wounded soldiers in undersupplied hospitals, the majority of our time was spent talking with soldiers about their lives, our own lives, as well as recent events in Ukraine.

After volunteering for the hospital group, I volunteered for an IDP center that was based close to where I lived and with which I had established contacts after interviewing a few of its members. This group was a medium sized network, with 20-30 people volunteering on a daily basis and an extensive system of support for the internally displaced, including clothing, household goods, medication, and housing. My volunteering at this IDP center focused on sorting and wrapping Christmas and New Year's presents for displaced children. I participated in this volunteering once a week for three hours a day on weekends over the course of December 2015. Although I had the option of helping distribute goods to IDPs during the week, I was hesitant to do so for two main reasons. Firstly, I was concerned that my lack of fluency in Russian would slow down the distribution of aid and create tension with the people seeking help. Secondly, I was concerned that I did not have adequate knowledge of the household needs of

Ukrainian families in order to carry out this task. Thus, during my volunteering, I primarily interacted with up to ten other volunteers while sorting and wrapping presents in an unheated room of an empty building, neighboring the IDP center.

Finally, from late January 2016 until mid-April 2016, I volunteered at Kyiv's central military hospital within a larger volunteer network, composed of over a hundred regular members. This volunteer group included an extensive and well-developed system for mobilizing supplies, medications, and other forms of support towards wounded soldiers across all hospital divisions, while sharing excess supplies with other volunteer groups in the capital and across the country. I began volunteering within Kyiv's central military hospital after paying a visit with my housemate and her parents, members of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States who had organized a collection of funds for wounded soldiers. During this visit, I exchanged contact information with one of the leading volunteers at the hospital and, after contacting her, began volunteering there on a weekly basis. For two and a half months, I volunteered once or twice a week alongside an older, experienced volunteer in one of the hospital's central divisions by visiting soldiers who had fought in the ATO, collecting lists of their needs, and distributing supplies, including food, water, toiletries, and clothing to them. Volunteering at the military hospital was a more time-intensive endeavor because of its sheer size and a typical day of volunteering lasted from ten in the morning to three in the afternoon.

In addition to conducting participant observation at these sites, during the final month of my field work, I decided to shadow a medical evacuation group located near the front lines of conflict in the Donetsk oblast. Throughout the course of my research,

several volunteers had offered to allow me to travel to the zone of conflict alongside their group so that I could observe how they mobilized and distributed supplies. I was not prepared to do so for two three main reasons. Firstly, this was organizationally complicated as it was against the terms of my fellowship and seemed to require obtaining special authorization from the Ukrainian government. Secondly, I did not want to create unnecessary stress for my partner and family, who were sure to worry about such a trip. Finally, I was concerned about the safety of travel near the zone of conflict, given the regular flareups of violence at the time as well as the poor conditions of Ukrainian roads, particularly during the winter. Nevertheless, when an opportunity arose to go on such a trip after the end of my fellowship and through a trusted volunteer organization, I ultimately decided to do so.

I established contact with the medical evacuation group that I shadowed after an interview with a Kyiv volunteer, who ran an organization supporting civilians located near the zone of conflict. This volunteer forwarded me the phone number of one of the group's leaders, who was in Kyiv at the time. After interviewing the leader of the organization, he asked whether I was interested in visiting the volunteer group itself since one of their emergency evacuation vehicles was set to travel to the Donetsk oblast from Kyiv early the next morning, and I said that I was. The medical evacuation group itself consisted of a small apartment, based in a frontline town with several small groups of around five volunteers, living in trailers located past initial military block posts, closer to the zone of active shelling. The group took part in evacuating injured soldiers and civilians to local hospitals as well as providing basic medical services within the zone of

conflict. During my time with the group, I shadowed one of its leaders throughout his interactions with local residents and representatives of the Ukrainian military as well as during trips to transport vehicles and supplies to the groups stationed closer to the zone of conflict.

During the course of participant observation and shadowing volunteers, my identity as a young American woman of Ukrainian heritage seemed to both help and hinder my research in several ways. For one, I was able to enter spaces of women's volunteering within hospitals and an IDP group relatively easily as participants were often curious about my own background and, within hospitals, believed that soldiers would be interested in interacting with me. However, within these spaces of feminine volunteering, I also found that I lacked many of the cultural abilities that Ukrainian volunteer women considered natural when caring for others in gendered settings. For instance, navigating interactions with soldiers in hospitals proved particularly difficult as I struggled with a lack of knowledge of how Ukrainian hospitals typically functioned and what they were usually unable to provide their patients. In addition, I had to develop strategies for establishing rapport with male soldiers wounded at war during intimate and gendered interactions concerning their needs.

On the other hand, when shadowing a medical evacuation group on the front lines, my identity presented another set of advantages and disadvantages. When seeking to travel to the zone of conflict, my gender and nationality seemed to help me build trust with volunteers, who regarded the American Ukrainian diaspora as allies. Moreover, volunteer groups traveling to the front lines often considered women's presence within

their groups positively. However, when deciding whether to visit the medical evacuation group in the Donetsk oblast, I also had to balance these advantages with dangers presented to female researchers in particular within a less regulated, militarized, masculine setting such as a conflict zone. Volunteering closer the zone of conflict was more dominated by men, although women volunteers were also prominent. Thus, observing volunteer work within the conflict zone was more likely to involve interactions within all male-settings, interactions with the Ukrainian army, and a reliance upon the leadership and members of volunteer groups for the assurance of one's safety.

Throughout my ethnographic field work – while attending events, conducting participant observation, and shadowing volunteers – I took field notes that focused on understanding the societal contexts within which volunteers operated. Often, when I could not take extensive notes by hand, I would record them by voice on my phone or write brief notes – both by phone and on paper – that would jog my memory later. Once I found the time, typically in the evening of the same day, I would expand upon these recordings and notes on my computer. Within my field notes, I included observations on the day's events as well as reflections on how these observations fit into larger patterns within volunteering and the conflict, including: gendered interactions, community ties, the concerns of volunteers, interactions between government actors and volunteers, interactions between volunteers and the communities they aided, as well as the content and experience of volunteer labor.

Ultimately, this ethnographic research proved central to shaping the course of my dissertation. In particular, participant observation and shadowing volunteers allowed me

to uncover processes and themes that were central to volunteer's everyday realities including: the importance of human connection to their work, the close ties that formed amidst volunteers as well as between volunteers and the people they aided, and the difficulty of adjusting to life outside of spaces of volunteering. These themes also appeared within volunteer interviews, however, it was the participation in volunteer activities that led me to locate them at the center of my work.

Data Analysis

All but five of my interviews with volunteers were audio-recorded with the permission of respondents. During the course of my field work, I also created over eighty Microsoft Word documents and audio files with field notes. Towards the end of my stay in Ukraine, I ordered a transcription of my interviews with volunteers and personally transcribed the field notes that I had recorded. Upon the completion of these transcriptions, I uploaded the interviews into NVivo and began to work through them in order to identify themes that emerged from the data. The process of developing codes for the interviews was both inductive and deductive, as I recursively drew upon academic literature and went back into the data in order to determine patterns relevant to both wartime social change within societies across the globe and civilian volunteering in Ukraine. Ultimately, I focused on coding for patterns that included: feelings of community and processes of mutual support, gendered narratives and divisions, as well as perceptions of state-society relations.

Once these themes were established as the main focus on my dissertation, I created Word documents with the coded interviews, relevant to each theme and developed subthemes that became the content of my dissertation chapters. Later, I incorporated additional, relevant data collected during ethnographic observation and through secondary research in order to strengthen the arguments within the dissertation. Throughout the dissertation, I have used pseudonyms for my interviewees to assure confidentiality and Table 2 below serves as a reference for the demographic information of participants by pseudonym.

Pseudonym	**Gender**	**Age**	**Type of Volunteering**
Agata	F	31	IDP [East]
Alevtina	F	33	IDP [East], Hospital [Army]
Alisa	F	28	Hospital [Army], Hospital [Maidan]
Anastasiya	F	44	IDP [East]
Andrij	M	28	Army, Hospital [Army]
Anna	F	22	Army
Antonina	F	51	Hospital [Army], Army, Civilian [East]
Ariana	F	22	Army
Arina	F	28	IDP [East], Civilian [East]
Bohdan	M	20	Army, IDP [East]
Dana	F	28	Hospital [Army]
Danusia	F	23	Army
Danylo	M	30	Army
Dara	F	42	Army
Daria	F	39	IDP [East]
Darka	F	28	IDP [East]
Dasha	F	40	Army
Diana	F	25	Hospital

Dmytro	M	35	Army
Halya	F	40	Army
Ihor	M	32	IDP [East]
Iryna	F	45	Army
Ivan	M	32	Army
Ivanna	F	38	Hospital [Army], Hospital [Civilian], Civilian [East]
Karolina	F	27	Hospital [Maidan], Army
Katya	F	33	Army
Khrystyna	F	21	Army
Laryssa	F	28	Army
Lera	F	25	Hospital [Army], IDP [East]
Lesia	F	18	Hospital [Army], Army
Lilya	F	25	IDP [East]
Liza	F	33	Army, Civilian [East]
Luba	F	37	Hospital [Army]
Maksym	M	26	Army, IDP [East]
Margarita	F	44	Army
Marichka	F	29	Hospital [Army]
Marko	M	34	Army, Hospital [Army], IDP [East]
Marta	F	39	Army, Hospital [Maidan]
Marusia	F	33	Army, Hospital [Army]
Maryna	F	19	Army
Masha	F	29	Army
Maya	F	20	Army
Melasia	F	34	Army
Mykola	M	32	Army
Nadia	F	24	Army
Natalia	F	37	Army
Nazar	M	38	Hospital [Army]
Nikita	M	34	IDP [East]
Nina	F	26	Army
Oksana	F	27	Hospital [Army], Army
Oleh	M	24	Army

Olena	F	43	Hospital [Army], Civilian [East], IDP [East]
Olesia	F	27	Hospital [Army]
Olya	F	41	Hospital [Maidan], Army
Pavlo	M	33	Army
Petro	M	46	Army, Civilian [East]
Polina	F	32	IDP [East]
Slava	F	45	Civilian [East]
Sofia	F	21	Army, Civilian [East]
Solomiya	F	35	Army
Sonia	F	25	IDP [East]
Sveta	F	43	Army
Svitlana	F	27	Hospital [Army], Army
Tamara	F	40	Army, IDP [Crimea]
Taras	M	30	Hospital [Army]
Tatiana	F	52	Army
Teresa	F	45	Civilian [East], IDP [East], Army
Uliana	F	24	Hospital [Army], Army
Valya	F	46	Hospital [Army]
Vera	F	21	Army
Victor	M	32	Army
Vika	F	41	IDP [East]
Vitaliya	F	46	Hospital [Army]
Xenia	F	40	Army, Hospital [Army], Hospital [Maidan]
Yana	F	56	Hospital [Army]
Yaroslava	F	52	Army
Yaryna	F	22	Army
Yurij	M	36	Army
Yustyna	F	37	Army, Hospital [Army]
Zhenia	F	35	Army
Zlata	F	24	IDP [Crimea]

Table 2. Participant Pseudonyms and Characteristics

Limitations

The conclusions of this dissertation are not generalizable across all of volunteering during wartime Ukraine, though the patterns that arise from the data can provide insight into wider societal processes within the country and other wartime societies. In particular, the scope of the conclusions within this work is limited by geography, gender, age, and social class within the empirical data. Moreover, as Sandra Harding (1987) and Judith Stacey (1988) have claimed, the research product never represents an objective truth, but is always deeply shaped by the identity of the researcher, which must be considered when interpreting empirical data and its analysis.

This study was primarily based in Kyiv, Ukraine, although most of the interviewees were not born in the capital. Due to regional differences in terms of identity and political allegiance across the country, volunteer narratives are specific to the context of this cosmopolitan center and more closely reflect patterns in Ukraine's central and western oblasts. In particular, Ukrainians' opinions of Europe and memories of the Soviet Union vary significantly across the country. For instance, residents of the center and west of Ukraine, areas that have higher populations of ethnic Ukrainians and Ukrainian speakers, hold more positive opinions of the European Union. In the center and west, 77% and 59% of residents favor Ukraine's entry into the EU, compared to 33% and 24% of the population of the south and east (Razumkov Centre 2018). Meanwhile, residents of the south and east of Ukraine, areas with higher populations of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers, hold more positive memories of the Soviet Union with over 40% of residents favoring its renewal (Razumkov Centre 2018).

The age and class status of Ukrainians has additional effects on their opinions of the EU and memories of the Soviet Union. Within this study, the class status of volunteers was higher than the national average and their average age was lower. Both of these patterns meant that respondents were more likely to hold positive opinions of the European Union and to be negatively disposed towards the renewal of the Soviet Union (Razumkov Centre 2018). Thus, the content of the volunteer narratives explored in this dissertation cannot be generalized across Ukraine's population, where meanings around Europe and the Soviet Union are constructed differently across region, identity, age, and class status. Within my analysis, I take into account these variations and consequently limit my conclusions in accordance with them.

In addition to the limitations of geography and identity, the data within this study primarily draws upon the narratives and experiences of women. Within the volunteer sample, 79% of respondents were women and 21% were men. Thus, the narratives of the volunteers in this study more closely reflect the rationalizations and practices of women volunteers. Moreover, in the volunteer movement, the distribution of women and men differed across areas of volunteering, such as the care of internally displaced people, the wounded, the army, and families of soldiers. Since men volunteers predominantly worked in supporting the armed forces, their narratives were more likely to reflect those of soldiers and, in effect, include language that was more nationalistic and oriented in opposition to Russia.

Finally, the identity of the researcher is a limitation within this research, which should be considered when interpreting its conclusions. Interviews and participant

observation are social interactions, which are influenced by the identities of all involved. Within the interviews conducted for this project, my identity as a young, white, American woman of Ukrainian heritage likely produced specific reactions from interviewees and unique experiences within spaces of ethnographic research. I have already discussed the advantages and disadvantages that my identity posed in the field when recruiting interviewees and locating sites for participant observation. In addition, within interviews, participants may have placed greater emphasis on comparisons between Ukraine and the West than they otherwise might have with researchers from Ukraine. Moreover, my gender identity likely evoked different interactions from those experienced by male researchers, particularly when such interactions involved discussions of gender.

Chapter Summaries

This dissertation examines a case of civilian actors, who transform social life at a time of war in postsocialist Ukraine. Specifically, I focus on how the volunteer movement during the Donbas conflict led to a reimagining of state-society relations and gendered change. In Chapter 2, I present a literature review that grounds my research in the sociology of gender, feminist scholarship on war, sociological research on volunteering as well as the interdisciplinary study of postsocialist societies.

In Chapter 3, I turn to the analysis of how Ukrainian state-society relations were re-imagined during the Donbas conflict by analyzing narratives surrounding the volunteer movement, which arose as a visible and valued space of action during a time of national crisis. Scholars have argued that the growth of volunteering within societies enables the

expansion of neoliberal dynamics and the privatization of state functions. In Ukraine, however, wartime volunteering was constructed alongside hybrid discourses that combined ideals of citizens' empowerment with socialist demands for increased state care under the symbolism of a modern West. Thus, volunteering was less an embodiment of neoliberal logics than a practice, which united seemingly contradictory narratives that intersected in a society on a borderlands between the European Union and Russia. Furthermore, it did so by reinforcing binaries of East/West and modernity/backwardness in a way that positioned volunteers against both a corrupt Ukrainian state and a failed Soviet past.

In Chapter 4, I take on the question of whether volunteering during the Donbas conflict led to transformations in gender structures during war. Feminist scholars have argued that masculine advantage is often reinforced during conflict through the binary between masculine protectors and feminine protected. Volunteer women seemed to challenge this divide as they entered the public realm and took on the responsibilities of the state to protect the army and civilians. Ultimately, I claim that volunteers both created space for feminine forms of protection and reproduced narratives of feminine domesticity around the conflict.

Chapter 5 continues the discussion of gendered transformations during conflict but it shifts the conversation towards capturing the local experiences of wartime social actors. Feminists have focused on change during war as exemplified through women's empowerment or transformations of hierarchical gender structures. However, these studies often do more to highlight the political projects of feminism than the realities of

wartime actors. I argue that the feminist study of war needs to incorporate a more precise definition of women's agency in order to bring in the ways that structures don't just constrain but also produce agents. I claim that in the case of the Donbas conflict, volunteer women reproduced the ideal of family within the public sphere and, by doing so, came to embody a particular mode of being they experienced as "normal" or "true" life.

Finally, within Chapter 6, I synthesize the main conclusions of the chapters of this dissertation and clarify the contributions they make to the study of research on social life and change during war. I conclude by proposing paths for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

With the start of the Donbas conflict, the volunteer movement marked an important site of change as it rose to the forefront of wartime social life. As civilians mobilized around the consequences of conflict, volunteering outpaced the church, army, and state to become the most trusted of all societal institutions. In effect, it marked the expansion of an idealized space of citizens' action within a society deeply disillusioned with the state and its leadership. In addition, the high status placed on voluntarism increased the visibility of women's contributions to the war effort as they took on central roles within the volunteer movement.

Thus, volunteering during the Donbas conflict was a site of the reimagining of state-society relations as well as the transformation of gendered roles during war. In the sections that follow, I lay the groundwork for discussing these changes by reviewing the relevant literature on volunteering and gendered processes within a postsocialist Ukrainian context.

Volunteering and Civil Society in the Postsocialist Space

In the sociological literature, scholars have argued that the growth of volunteering reflects neoliberal logics that further the dismantling of welfare states by "empowered" citizens (Hyatt 2001; Eliasoph 2011). However, such analyses do not fully capture the meaning of voluntarism within contexts such as postsocialist societies, where discourses of citizens' empowerment often become entangled with those of state care in seemingly

contradictory ways (Phillips 2005; Hemment 2012). Studies on postsocialist societies have demonstrated that the spread of voluntarism and non-state organizing after the collapse of the Soviet Union has led to the reconfiguration of state-society relations according to both global and local discourses (Kay 2007; Hemment 2012; Read 2014). Such transformations have not resulted in a form of citizens' empowerment that universally rejects state care, but instead they have led to hybrid alternatives that address social needs in the absence of state benefits and often draw upon both neoliberal and socialist or Soviet-era narratives.

Volunteering during the conflict in Donbas was similarly constructed upon a hybrid landscape that combined multiple, seemingly discordant narratives. Although many imagined this wartime volunteering to be a form of citizens' empowerment representative of the West, they further combined such discourses with calls for enhanced state care, reminiscent of Soviet times. In addition to reflecting both neoliberal and socialist discourses, the construction of volunteering in wartime Ukraine was built upon Orientalist binaries of East and West, modernity and backwardness that were characteristic of a society on the borderlands of former European empires and contemporary world powers.

Volunteering and Neoliberal Logics

Neoliberal discourses have – to various degrees – transformed state-society relations across the globe through the decline of welfare provisions and the increasing privatization of state functions. In addition to structural transformations, scholars claim

that neoliberalism produced new political subjects called volunteers that no longer demanded benefits from the state, but instead took on its functions as empowered actors working in the name of public good (Hyatt 2001; Eliasoph 2011). According to Susan Hyatt (2001), as the state retreated from public life through the privatization of its functions, actors such as volunteers came to internalize state control and learned to manage themselves. In effect, this led to the expansion of organizational life outside of the state including nonprofits and nongovernmental organizations as well as philanthropic efforts by private actors, including corporations.

Non-state actors that have taken on former state responsibilities, such as the provision of social services, typically espouse missions of empowerment and helping others. Yet, scholars have argued that their work is further aimed at the reproduction of their own social status, and many serve to reinforce social inequalities among the populations they intend to serve (Eliasoph 2011; Barman 2017). For instance, studies of philanthropy have demonstrated that donations by both individuals and corporations typically support causes that are connected to the giver's network, status, and interests (Barman 2017). Furthermore, the work of foundations whose missions target resolving social issues instead tend to strengthen cultural hegemony, direct funds away from radical activities and grassroots NGOs, and reproduce social inequalities across race, class, and gender (Barman 2017). These patterns are exemplified by the US empowerment projects of Nina Eliasoph's (2011) study, which were constructed alongside ideals of community and development, but resulted in temporary and precarious projects that masked inequalities instead of effectively resolving them.

Civil Society after Socialism

Across postsocialist societies, the collapse of the Soviet Union led to the deterioration of a vast system of societal benefits provided by the government, including housing, education, childcare, and healthcare. In Ukraine, the years following independence were particularly damaging to the state's welfare system as the country's economy underwent an extended period of decline and the government became increasingly captured by elites, who directed state resources towards their own enrichment. Alongside the decline in the state's support of its citizens, nongovernmental organizations – previously curtailed under the Soviet Union – began to emerge in Ukraine. The growth of formalized nonstate groups was encouraged by international organizations, governments, and private actors based primarily in North America and Western Europe. These actors worked to expand civilian participation in governance and the privatization of state functions as part of growing neoliberal dynamics across the globe (Hemment 2004; Vogel 2006).

International efforts at fostering civil society in postsocialist countries were grounded in the beliefs that: 1) former Soviet societies would transition towards democracy and the market economy, 2) civil society was key to such transitions, and 3) civil society as such was largely nonexistent within the former Soviet Union and thus had to be developed (Hemment 2004; Phillips 2005; Krasynska and Martin 2017). Alongside these beliefs, the concept of civil society was often grounded within Western ideals that failed to capture the local contexts and forms of informal social organizing within

postsocialist societies (Krasynska and Martin 2017). In effect, former Soviet citizens became imagined as passive actors or "sovky," people who were trapped in a paternalistic, Soviet mindset and had to be reeducated to function in a Western state system (Howard 2003; Gatskova and Gatskov 2016: 680).

Despite and – in some cases – due to such narratives, citizens of postsocialist societies often welcomed the growth of Western-style nonstate groups. Such organizations took on responsibilities that postsocialist governments no longer could and included entities such as nongovernmental organizations and charitable groups. For some, nonstate organizations symbolized the rebuilding of communities alongside ideals of a "healthy society" as a counterweight to the perceived corruption of money and politics (Hemment 2004). Meanwhile, in the case of socially disempowered groups such as feminists and sexual minorities, they presented a path towards the elevation of pressing social issues alongside the powerful symbolism of Western modernity (Owczarzak 2009; Marling and Koobak 2017). Finally, within contexts of weakened state support and poverty, organizations outside of the state – often funded by wealthy foreign actors – offered ways for citizens to address problems within their communities and take part in projects that were experienced as empowering (Phillips 2005).

To some extent, the embrace of the Western model of nonstate organizing could be viewed as a symptom of the global expansion of neoliberalism and Western cultural hegemony. However, the enactment of civil society within these spaces never simply reproduced Western models, but further incorporated local meanings and practices into hybrid reconfigurations. Citizens in postsocialist countries were frequently disappointed

with the forms of Western-style civil society that developed in their countries, leading to resistance and continued demands for state care (Hemment 2004; Read 2014). In the case of postsocialist Ukraine, Sarah Phillips (2005) argues that civil society actors "stitch[ed] together seemingly incompatible discourses," including Soviet-era concepts of entitlement as well as neoliberal narratives of self-sufficiency and collective action (500). Meanwhile, Julie Hemment (2012) claims that the Russian volunteer groups of her case developed into "social partnerships" with the state instead of acting as a counterweight to it. In effect, such initiatives resulted in hybrid forms that both supported neoliberal logics of citizens' empowerment and ran in opposition to them by activating socialist imaginaries.

Postsocialist Societies as Borderlands

Studies on civil society and nonstate organizing in postsocialist societies oftentimes investigate how such practices mirror or transition towards forms of nonstate organizing that originate in the West (Howard 2003; Vogel 2006). Yet, the hybrid discourses around such practices, which scholars have observed through empirical research suggest that the postsocialist context more closely resembles a space of the borderlands, where multiple discourses are negotiated by social actors. In addition, the societal discourses on these borderlands – where postsocialist societies are variously located between countries of the European Union, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Russia as well as imaginings of European and Slavic worlds – are built alongside binaries of East and West as well as modernity and backwardness. Such binaries draw upon cross-

cutting Orientalist narratives that harken to histories of imperial rule in Europe as well as contemporary power dynamics.

The hybrid, changing space of the borderlands was initially written into scholarly debate by Gloria Anzaldúa, whose works were rooted in her life as a lesbian, mestiza woman living on the border between the United States and Mexico. Anzaldúa (1999) charted a space of competing discourses where "two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference" came together and caused "un choque, a cultural collision" (100). She claimed that while living on the borderlands, she developed a mestiza consciousness, a state of constantly negotiating the messages within her surroundings, which were saturated with competing cultural narratives that interpreted her body through different lenses. This mestiza consciousness was characterized by a "tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity" as she learned to live as an "an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view" (101). According to Anzaldúa (1999), the borderlands of Mexico and the US were further distinguished by power differentials between the two dominant cultural visions, resulting in patterns of violence against racialized, brown bodies -- particularly those of women. She described how populations on the borderlands were made the object of dominant discourses and disappeared in the midst of dualities. To counter this violent erasure, she called for new symbols and new myths that enabled "[s]eeing the Chicana in light of her history" (Anzaldúa 1999: 2009).

Postsocialist scholars have drawn upon Gloria Anzaldúa's theory of the borderlands as it resonates with their own social realities. Upon reading Anzaldúa, Ewa

Majewska (2011) saw similarities between the hybrid surroundings of the mestiza and life on the borderlands of Poland, Ukraine, and Belarus. According to Majewska (2011), the division between Fortress Europe and Ukraine mirrors power relations between the United States and Mexico, resulting in the daily abuse of Ukrainian migrants at border crossings as well as further sexual and economic exploitation within the European Union. Furthermore, the borderlands of postsocialist Eastern European countries reflect ambiguous, cross-cutting patterns of colonization and population transfers as well as histories of multiculturalism and multilingualism. Just as Anzaldúa calls for a new imaginary from the perspective of the mestiza, Majewska (2011) sees the borderlands as a way to write in the complex currents within Eastern European and former Soviet societies that are oftentimes lost in hegemonic narratives of nation-building.

Meanwhile, Madina Tlostanova sees the borderlands as a way to conceptualize postsocialist realities outside of mainstream feminism, which cannot capture her life as "an internal, ethnically mixed, and always alienated non-Russian other of the Soviet Union/post-Soviet Russia" (Tlostanova 2015: 269). Alongside other scholars, she proposes "border thinking" as a way to shed light on the hybridity of postsocialist societies and their inhabitants while searching for similarities across global contexts (Tlostanova et al. 2016). According to these scholars,

> Feminist border thinking is a horizontal transversal networking of different local histories and sensibilities mobilised through a number of common, yet pluriversal and open categories. The positive impulse behind border thinking replaces the negative stance that entraps women in multiple oppressions with the re-existent

> position of building an alternative world in which no one will be an other. (Tlostanova et al. 2016: 217)

Postcolonial Theory and Postsocialism

In addition to drawing upon borderlands theory, scholars have looked to postcolonial theory in order to theorize the hybrid and cross-cutting discursive context of the postsocialist space (Chari and Verdery 2009; Owczarzak 2009; Grabowska 2012; Koobak and Marling 2014; Mayblin et al. 2016). Several scholars argue for the value of directing a postcolonial lens on postsocialist societies, claiming that it allows us to better understand these societies and to trace similarities with former European colonies. One similarity they observe is the presence of Orientalist narratives, directed both at Eastern European and former Soviet societies as well as internal Others. For instance, they argue that lands in the center and east of Europe have historically been perceived as barbaric, uncivilized Others in the discourses of both Western European states and Russia (Owczarzak 2009; Grabowska 2012; Mayblin et al. 2016). Today, these patterns persist in diverse forms across postsocialist societies, with the characterization of some social groups within the east of Europe as "backwards" or struggling with the "Soviet mindset" (Mayblin et al. 2016). Moreover, in some cases, postsocialist leaders and social groups turn Orientalist narratives against internal Others, whom they present as examples of an outdated Homo Sovieticus in order to legitimate themselves as part of a European future (Owczarzak 2009; Koobak and Marling 2014; Mayblin et al. 2016; Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk 2017).

In addition, scholars of postsocialism have drawn upon the concept of "hybridity" within postcolonial theory whereby former colonies move past reacting to colonial narratives and form new multivocal identities (Bhabha 1994). These scholars claim "hybridity" can help us understand contemporary developments in postsocialist societies, where new narratives have emerged that differ from the polarizing discourses and counter discourses, which have characterized social life thus far (Tlostanova 2012; Gerasimov 2014; Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk 2017; Puleri 2017).

Using the tools of postcolonial theory within a postsocialist context helps to elaborate the discursive context of these societies and draw links across borders. Yet, it is important to emphasize that the history, memory, and consequences of imperial rule vary widely across postsocialist societies and depart even more dramatically from the forms of colonization experienced within European overseas colonies (Chari and Verdery 2009; Owczarzak 2009; Grabowska 2012; Tlostanova 2012; Koobak and Marling 2014; Mayblin et al. 2016).

One effect of imperial rule that demonstrates the extent of the variation across the consequences of imperial rule in postsocialist societies is racialization. Both historically and within contemporary social contexts, postsocialist societies have been diversely constructed alongside racial hierarchies. For instance, within Eastern Europe, Poles were constructed as a weak and primitive Slavic race by Germans, but further mobilized racial constructs of Asian barbarism against their neighbors to the east (Cavanagh 2004; Grabowska 2012; Mayblin et al. 2016). Meanwhile, the racialization of inhabitants of the Caucasus and Central Asia within the Soviet Union more closely resembled the

experiences of people within former Western European overseas colonies. Within the Soviet Union, racial prejudice and discrimination was typically masked by a language of the "friendship of the peoples," while racial diversity was showcased to the world in model cities (Sahadeo 2016). However, not all Soviet people were treated equally as Soviet narratives positioned the inhabitants of Central Asia as "backward" through rhetoric of a "civilizing mission" (Tlostanova 2012; Sahadeo 2016). Racial difference further intersected with other social hierarchies particular to the Soviet context, including urban-rural and class divides (Sahadeo 2016). In the aftermath of Soviet collapse, people from the Caucasus and Central Asia have transitioned to more overtly inhabiting the category of Black in modern Russia, becoming a racialized Other within a society defined as white and Slavic (Roman 2002; Tlostanova 2012).

Narratives of Europe and a Slavic World in Ukraine

In the case of postsocialist Ukraine, cross-cutting historical legacies have crystallized into oppositional narratives that often draw upon Orientalist binaries of East and West as well as modernity and backwardness. During the years of Ukrainian statehood, a polarized political landscape has incorporated two dominant perspectives on what it means to be Ukrainian. The first envisions Ukraine as connected to Slavic roots, while the second rejects the concept of Slavic unity as a foreign imposition, which must be shed for a true European Ukrainian nationhood (Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk 2017). While these competing visions are products of internal meaning-making within Ukraine, they are further shaped by the discourses of neighboring world powers, which once ruled

over its lands. On the one hand, the Russian government promotes the image of Ukraine as irreversibly tied to a Slavic world and its sphere of interest, rejecting any alternative as a dangerous form of nationalist sympathy or evidence of an illegitimate Western project. On the other hand, discourses that call for an indigenous Ukrainian culture often draw upon Orientalist imaginaries of European modernity and Eastern backwardness (Sakwa 2015; Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk 2017).

While both the Slavic world and European narratives reflect discursive currents within Ukraine's neighbors, the former further reinforces the image of Russia as a civilizational center. Within the Slavic world narrative, Ukraine represents the origins of a mythical Russian world, the cradle of Russian Orthodoxy, and a land of Russian-speakers that long for unity with their Slavic brothers (Torbakov 2016). Ukraine is, thus, key to the identity of Russia itself, connecting it back to the roots of Slavic civilization in the Kyivan Rus' and placing it at the center of neighboring countries as a world power. This Russian or Slavic world narrative is not only pervasive within countries of the former Soviet Union, but it is further reflected within Western societies and their media. For instance, Barbara Törnquist-Plewa and Yuliya Yurchuk (2017) argue that Ukraine's position within this narrative demonstrates how "Ukraine is 'orientalized' as a country unknown and always existing in the shadow of Russia" (16).

Volunteering and the Study of Gender and War

As the volunteer movement became a site for reimagining Ukrainian society alongside hybrid discourses and East-West binaries, it also served as a space for gendered

change during war. This was due to the prominence of women volunteers, who took on central responsibilities typically reserved for the state. Thus, within the fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation, I investigate how war impacts gender roles and hierarchies through the study of civilian women volunteers in the Donbas conflict.

Scholars have investigated gendered change during war by tracing the expansion of military masculinity in society as well as transformations in paths for women's entry into positions of power. For the most part, these studies have argued that war reinforces men's leading status as heroic protectors, although this symbolic position is not experienced in the same way by all men. Meanwhile, the challenges that war presents to the gendered divisions and hierarchies advantaging men are often reversed in its aftermath. In the following section, I first present a general overview of the literature on gender and conflict. Next, I focus more specifically on aspects of this literature that the case of women's volunteering in the Donbas conflict helps to elaborate. Finally, I provide a review of the literature on gender and conflict within Ukraine in order to create the foundation for the chapters to come.

War and Gendered Change

Feminist scholars of gender and conflict largely argue that masculine dominance is reinforced within societies at war (Cockburn 2007; Enloe 2007). They claim that men and women are typically called upon to accomplish their "natural" roles in a time of crisis in the name of unity against a common threat (Yuval-Davis 1997; Peterson 2007). The value of masculine and feminine roles, however, differs significantly within a militarized

context. Men dominate the front lines as armed fighters and their accomplishments are characterized as heroic, reinforcing a militarized masculine ideal. On the other hand, women become relegated to secondary and oftentimes invisible roles defined by their relationship to men. Rather than being glorified as central actors on their own terms, they are typically imagined as mothers, wives, helpers, or sources of inspiration in relation to male counterparts (Enloe 2000; Eichler 2011). Furthermore, women may come to represent the nation as whole, whose purity and peace must be protected by masculine actors (Stiehm 1982; Yuval-Davis 1997; Mayer 2000).

Gendered differences in wartime roles and the meanings attached to them contribute to unequal standings for men and women during and after conflict. Men's leading role as fighters in organizations such as the military enables them to access positions of power in both the private and public spheres. Moreover, participation in the military often transforms men's relationship to the state by granting them access to various social benefits and status (Moran 2010). Meanwhile, the glorification of a masculine, militarized realm contributes to the reproduction of a lower status for feminine forms of labor through their association with a domestic space, which relies on masculine protection (Stiehm 1982; Young 2003). Finally, the militarization of society can harm women by framing them as property to be fought over as well as by leading to increased rates of sexual violence experienced in the home and, for women who choose to serve, in the military itself (Riley 2008).

Nevertheless, not all men equally participate in or benefit from war, nor are all women its victims. For one, the ideals of military masculinity are constructed upon

hierarchies of nation, race, class, and sexuality, leading to unequal valuations at the intersections of these categories (Mayer 2000; Peterson 2007). Secondly, when men take part in combat, some come to embody militarized ideals, but many also experience injuries and psychological harm, which are often silenced in order to reproduce dominant narratives around masculinity and the nation. (Giles and Hyndman 2004; Segal 2008). Moreover, scholars have observed that wartime conditions do not solely advantage men, but can also transform gendered practices and hierarchical relationships (Ortega 2012; Pankhurst 2004; Riley 2008; Thompson and Eade 2004). For instance, gender expectations within conflict can clash with individuals' identities, goals or values. In effect, this may lead to women's entry into combat roles and leadership positions as well as men's resistance to conscription and militaristic ideals. Furthermore, during war, women may play a leading role in peace efforts and volunteer movements, which can result in increased civic action, new skills, and expanded social networks (Thompson and Eade 2004).

Yet, challenges to the gender order during war may not endure within post-conflict periods (Afshar and Eade 2004; Moran 2010). When women take part in action on the battlefield or other traditionally masculine roles, they often experience a social backlash in the aftermath of conflict (Pankhurst 2004; Parashar 2014). Furthermore, their militaristic contributions may be erased from national discourses or public commemorations if they counter normative gender narratives and ideals (Parashar 2014; Shepherd 2006). Moreover, women themselves do not always perceive their new responsibilities during war as favorable or empowering, but rather may view them as

burdensome (Afshar 2004). Feminist goals are rarely at the forefront of women's wartime activism and gender ideologies are slow to change within the social upheaval of conflict. Finally, although some women take on more visible roles within the labor force or politics during war, these rarely translate into access to the most influential positions within society (Moran 2010).

Gendered Binaries of Protection

In the case of the Donbas conflict, women's volunteering presented a potential challenge to gender hierarchies during warfare as women entered into highly valued social positions that symbolically replaced the state. In particular, volunteer women seemed to destabilize the wartime binary of masculine protector/feminine protected, which feminist scholars argue structures societies at war (Stiehm 1982; Young 2003). Instead of being located within a protected, domestic sphere, volunteer women became part of a public, civilian force that enabled the army to act and protected vulnerable citizens. Below, I review the literature on the study of gendered binaries and logics of protection during war in order to later address how the case of Ukraine's wartime volunteer movement elaborates upon it.

Within conflict, as during times of peace, societies are organized alongside gendered dichotomies whereby a devalued feminine enables the valorization of the masculine (Stiehm 1982; Tickner 1992; Scott 1999). Central among these dichotomies at times of war is the binary of masculine protectors and feminine protected. According to Judith Stiehm (1982), as protectors, men are integrated into decision-making and combat

positions, while women are excluded from them, effectively becoming the protected. This wartime binary leads to unequal outcomes as the active masculine protectors are granted higher social status and the feminine protected are relegated to largely dependent positions.

The binary of protectors/protected is grounded in essentialist assumptions about the "natural" dispositions of men and women, making it difficult to destabilize (Scott 1999; Peterson 2007). Beliefs about innate sex differences lead men to be considered "natural" protectors within conflict, while women's entrance into such a status becomes unthinkable or solely possible through their assimilation into masculine styles and behaviors (Sasson-Levy 2003). In effect, the unequal power relations that result from this gendered binary often become an uncontested, common-sense outcome (Scott 1999; Peterson 2007).

As the protector/protected binary structures bodies and gender hierarchies, it also becomes part of what Iris M. Young (2003) calls gendered logics within militarized societies. According to Young (2003), such logics help "organize the way people interpret events and circumstances, along with the positions and possibilities for action within them, and sometimes provides some rationale for action" (2). For instance, she claims the US government used the logic of benevolent masculinist protection during its war against Iraq in order to justify the obedience and subordination of a protected citizenry. Other scholars demonstrate how militarized states may further harness logics of masculinist protection to feminize foreign nations as "Other" and rationalize colonialist incursions (Shepherd 2006; Peterson 2007; Schemenauer 2012).

Nevertheless, gendered logics and the binaries upon which they are constructed are not homogenous in their form or effect. Lorraine Bayard de Volo (2012) demonstrates that they can be structured differently across societies and types of conflict. For instance, a revolutionary logic around protection justified including men and women of all ages as primary actors – not a dependent protected – within conflicts in Cuba and Nicaragua (Bayard de Volo 2012). Bayard de Volo (2012) argues that the redefinition of feminine and civilian actors as defenders of the people allowed them to participate in valued positions within these cases of war in Latin America.

Thus, the literature demonstrates that binaries and logics around protection define the forms of action viewed as "natural" for masculine and feminine actors to take on during conflict. However, such constructions may vary across societies and different types of warfare. As a result, the question that arises is which social conditions may destabilize the gendered binaries and logics of protection during war? Or, alternatively, which social conditions produce more egalitarian configurations of such constructions across gender and other societal categories?

War and Women's Agency

Scholarship on gender and war tends to focus on gendered transformations at the structural level as well as a search for women's empowerment in terms of social status and access to rights and positions of authority. This theoretical orientation has had several repercussions on how the realities of women – and particularly non-Western women – are represented within the literature. For one, the search for women's empowerment within

conflict is often based on a Western feminist vision, privileging societal norms and structures within Western contexts. In effect, as Chandra Mohanty (1991) argues, Western women are often interpreted as freer while women located outside of the West may be represented as complicit in their own disempowerment. Moreover, the search for gendered transformations within war has restricted the conversation within feminist research to wartime actors that overtly challenge dominant gender structures. Although studies on such groups are indeed important, they can erase a discussion of realities that don't fit into such a framework, including women, who reinforce militarism or actors who can be victims, perpetrators, and witnesses at the same time (Parashar 2014).

The poststructuralist perspective, which views societal structures as not merely constraining but also enabling may help translate local experiences and social transformations within war across borders without reproducing a Western-centric perspective (Giddens 1984; Hays 1994; Mahmood 2001). While some feminist writings equate agency with "a resistance to relations of domination," poststructural theorist and postcolonial anthropologist Saba Mahmood (2001) defines it "as a capacity for action that historically specific relations of subordination enable and create" (203). This definition borrows from the work of Judith Butler and her use of Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power in order to emphasize that agents do not exist outside of societal structures, but are shaped and enabled by them. Alongside Mahmood's (2001) definition, women that contest societal structures that subordinate them and women that reproduce them are equally expressing agency. They simply embody different "historically and culturally specific disciplines" that shape them as social actors, giving them "capacities

and skills required to undertake particular types of acts (of which resistance to a particular set of relations of domination is *one kind of an act*)" (Mahmood 2001: 211).

In contrast to Judith Butler, Mahmood (2001) is not simply interested in actors who resist or subvert norms, but also those who fall outside of emancipatory politics. Her work has been particularly useful in bringing focus to the realities of women, who reinforce patriarchal structures within religion and the family. The acts of such "conservative" women become a form of agency oriented towards achieving specific "modes of being, responsibility, and effectivity" instead of being interpreted as the result of false consciousness or assessed through the language of empowerment and resistance (Mahmood 2001: 212). Drawing upon the work of Mahmood, Kelly Chong (2006) argues that some South Korean evangelical women knowingly support a patriarchal status quo in order to attain religious healing and fulfill central familial identities. Such desires, however, coexist with contradictory, emancipatory impulses as these women interpret the structures of religion and family as both constraining and enabling. Meanwhile, Orit Avishai (2008) claims that the orthodox Jewish Israeli women of her study are not "oppressed 'doormats,'" but actively work to achieve a mode of being that distinguishes them from nonreligious others.

While still conceptualizing agency as the product of social structures, other scholars have developed a language for speaking about how different forms of agency can work to reproduce or contest the structures that shape actors. For instance, Sharon Hays (1994) distinguishes between structurally reproductive and structurally transformative agency in order to specify the effects actors have on larger societal

structures. According to Hays (1994), both forms of agency are "human social action involving choices among the alternatives made available by the enabling features of social structure" (65). However, only structurally transformative agency occurs within particular historical and cultural contexts where social structures can change. In effect, Hay's (1994) theoretical contribution allows scholars to explore paths for gendered change if they are interested in the feminist political project of gender equality, but also to speak of women within conservative settings as equally expressing agency, albeit a form that may reproduce unequal gender structures. Moreover, her conceptualization of agency can be transferred across borders since it is not grounded in Western definitions of empowerment.

Rebecca Kissane and Sarah Winslow (2016) build on Hay's (1994) work by defining forms of agency that act across the binary of structural reproduction and transformation. They claim that mediated agency involves the simultaneous reproduction and transformation of social structure. Meanwhile, conflicted agency leads to the reinforcement of gendered structures in a strategic manner in order to use them towards the advancement of the goals of social actors. In this way, Kissane and Winslow (2016) theorize on the potential for agency to result in contradictory outcomes on the level of social structure.

Feminist research on war would be strengthened by incorporating more precise definitions of agency, such as those proposed by Hays (1994) and Mahmood (2001). Such a theoretical reframing of this literature could lead to: 1) a clearer understanding of what gender on the symbolic level means for actors within societies at war, 2) grounding

the study of gender and war within local contexts instead of Western definitions of empowerment, and 3) including "conservative" wartime actors within the literature with a better understanding of the societal structures that constrain and enable them.

Gender and War in Postsocialist Ukraine

The Soviet Union and postsocialist societies present an interesting case for the study of gender and conflict due to Soviet policies that encouraged women's emancipation as well as postsocialist patterns of growing gender traditionalism. During the Soviet Union, government policies promoted women's participation in the public sphere, creating gendered paths for integration into institutions of education, the workplace as well as the military (Gal and Kligman 2000; Ashwin 2006). Within the context of warfare, disastrous losses during the Second World War led women to be mobilized into an expanded military role, including combat positions, resulting in the largest number of women in a single army during the conflict. Furthermore, Soviet women in WWII gained a form of gender equality unattainable to their British and US counterparts as they filled combat and command functions in mixed-gender units (Fieseler et al. 2014).

Soviet state discourses depicted women's contributions to the Second World War as heroic though temporary and secondary to those of men. In order to mobilize the entirety of society, Soviet propaganda popularized the images and stories of female heroes across a range of roles including fighters, workers, and mothers, all ready to sacrifice their lives for their country (Kirschenbaum and Wingfield 2009). Yet, the Soviet

media also presented heroic women, who took on masculine roles during the conflict as an "unnatural" deviation from femininity and a secondary form of support to men on the front lines. Moreover, in the aftermath of WWII, there was an increased emphasis on women's embodiment of femininity and return to their "natural" roles within the domestic realm (Corbesero 2010).

The memory of the Second World War has continued to play a central role in the identities and politics of postsocialist societies and in Ukraine in particular (Marples 2012). However, the manner in which Soviet discourse has shaped the construction of contemporary wartime actors has been complex since postsocialist Ukrainian identities are partly built on the rejection of these very discourses. Nevertheless, the memory of heroic feminine actors during WWII has given Ukrainian women discursive tools, which can aid in challenging the masculine-centric definition of protection that pervades societies at war.

After the end of the Soviet Union, Ukrainian men and women often rejected Soviet-era gender ideals as imposed and "unnatural." Political leaders and social actors turned to discourses of masculinity and femininity, which harkened to pre-Soviet societies, essentialist constructions, and modern capitalist ideologies (Gal and Kligman 2000; Zhurzhenko 2001). In effect, femininity was increasingly connected to an idealized national past and women's position within the domestic realm (Rubchak 2001; Kis 2006; Hankivsky and Salnykova 2012). The *berehynia* or hearth mother became a particularly powerful symbol of a Ukrainian womanhood that rejected the masculinized superwoman of the Soviet Union (Rubchak 2001; 2012). The image of *berehynia* drew upon myths of

an egalitarian peasant society of Ukraine's past, where women wielded authority as mothers and housewives (Zhurzhenko 2001; Kis 2006). However, the ideals of motherhood and domesticity proved difficult to attain within a postsocialist Ukrainian society caught in the midst of dire economic conditions and decreasing state benefits (Zhurzhenko 2012).

With the outbreak of conflict in Ukraine, scholars have argued that the definition of femininity alongside the private sphere was reinforced (Hrytsenko 2014; Martsenyuk 2015). For instance, symbolism during the Euromaidan reflected militaristic and maternalist discourses that framed men as heroic warriors, while imagining women as mothers and secondary supporters of male actors (Hrytsenko 2014; Onuch and Martsenyuk 2014; Phillips 2014; Martsenyuk 2015). These discourses were embodied in the division of labor during the protests as men dominated tasks relating to violence and defence while women played a leading role in providing medical aid and food. Some groups worked to challenge the status quo by publicizing women's roles in the protests as well as forming an all-women's defence brigade (Channell-Justice 2017; Khromeychuk 2018). Nevertheless, their actions were often rejected in the name of unity around the nation. Moreover, male protesters worked to physically enforce the exclusion of women from spaces of violence under the rhetoric of benevolent protection (Hrytsenko 2014; Channell-Justice 2017).

After the Euromaidan and with the start of conflict in the Donbas, the military has often been perceived as the driving force behind the war effort, reflecting gender ideals constructed around masculine protection (Karpov 2015; Khromeychuk 2018). Yet,

societal transformations caused by the conflict have also created opportunities for challenging gender structures and narratives. These include the volunteer movement and Ukrainian women's leading role within it. In the chapters that follow, I examine the complex case of volunteering and its effects on social life during war.

CHAPTER THREE: VOLUNTEERING ON THE BORDERLANDS

Introduction

The start of the Donbas conflict brought swift and dramatic changes to social life in Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers were mobilized, millions of civilians fled violence, and hospitals became flooded with the injured. All of these issues were placed before a state, characterized by an outdated bureaucracy, widespread corruption, and powerful elites who controlled policy for private benefit (D'Anieri, Kravchuk, and Kuzio 1999). With the government unable to adequately resolve the swiftly expanding social issues, civilian networks mobilized around them – partly as a continuation of the Euromaidan – and voluntary activity increased amongst the population. Involvement in "socially beneficial activities" conducted during "free time" grew to 69% in 2014 from 54% in 2011. Meanwhile, 47% of Ukrainians reported donating to charitable groups in 2015 in comparison with 23% in 2012 (Volosevych 2016). Participation in volunteering, a phenomenon that was just starting to be recognized across Ukraine, stood at 15% in 2014, with 9% of respondents claiming they had only begun to volunteer during the past year (GfK Ukraine 2014).

In addition to marking a societal response to war and ineffective governance, volunteering further served as a site for reimagining state-society relations in Ukraine. The visibility and status of volunteers led to the celebration of societal contributions by nonstate actors at a time of crisis and government inaction. In the news media, wartime volunteers were the daily subject of reporting and began writing regular opinion pieces as experts on the conflict. On Facebook, the most well-known volunteers gained tens of

thousands of followers and the most famous groups, hundreds of thousands, directly spreading information on their work and perspectives. The government recognized the importance of volunteers by incorporating them into advisory boards, presenting them with state awards, and creating a state honor specifically for voluntary humanitarian support of the conflict. Ultimately, during the course of the Donbas conflict, volunteers became the most trusted of all social institutions, outpacing the church and the army, and leaving the Ukrainian government far behind.

In this chapter, I analyze the symbolic meaning surrounding volunteering during the Donbas conflict in order to shed light on how state-society relations were reimagined at this pivotal moment in Ukraine's history. In particular, I investigate the extent to which narratives surrounding volunteering reflected the consolidation of a language of citizens' empowerment reminiscent of neoliberal logics within part of Ukrainian society. Scholars of volunteering have argued that this form of nonstate organizing encourages the self-management of citizens and enables the privatization of state functions (Hyatt 2001). Yet, others have countered such claims by pointing to the hybrid configurations of nonstate organizing and the discourses surrounding it within postsocialist societies (Phillips 2005; Hemment 2012; Read 2014). I argue that narratives of voluntarism during the Donbas conflict revealed less an embrace of neoliberal logics than a reflection of Ukraine's historical location on a borderlands where multiple, cross-cutting discourses related to modernity and East/West divides intersect.

Volunteer Narratives during the Donbas Conflict

Narratives of volunteers during the Donbas conflict reflected the language of citizens' empowerment and aligned it with an idealized Western modernity, while rejecting an imagined past of backwardness and passivity. For many, voluntarism represented an avenue for transforming Ukraine into a "normal" country by abandoning corrupt governance and ineffective rule. Nevertheless, alongside this idealization of civic empowerment as Western modernity, volunteers further called for the reentry of a caring state, incorporating elements of socialist discourses into their vision of advanced state-society relations.

Citizens' Empowerment and Social Responsibility

The volunteers of this study located themselves within a largescale post-Euromaidan transformation of Ukrainian society alongside patterns of citizens' empowerment and social responsibility. For instance, they claimed that citizens had the ability to influence their surroundings even in the face of great difficulties. As one volunteer, Marichka (age 29) observed, "Most of my friends who help soldiers are acting under the concept of 'I am the state.' He's a state bureaucrat, we chose him. He didn't choose us. And if we chose him, he needs to listen to us." She further emphasized that in Ukraine, citizens were forced to become empowered and take responsibility because they knew the state would never accomplish anything on its own. Marichka explained by saying "I don't depend on the government. I'm not from that generation. Not because

government is bad, but because in our country, the government can't take on any responsibilities in a qualified way."

Oftentimes, volunteers traced the idea of citizens' empowerment and social responsibility back to the Euromaidan, which served as a watershed moment in their narratives. For instance, Sveta (age 43), explained, "Before the Maidan, I was naïve and thought that someone would get things done for me. Now I understand that if I don't do it, no one will." Meanwhile, Danusia (age 23) spoke of her transformation after the Euromaidan in the following way:

> After the Maidan, I changed in that I began to think. I developed some sort of social responsibility. Meaning I can be guilty of throwing a piece of paper on the ground. My city will be dirty if I throw that paper. But if I don't throw that paper and I tell someone else not to, and then they tell someone else, then there will be less garbage lying around. So, if I don't give a bribe, and then someone else doesn't give a bribe then there will be no corruption.

As Danusia's narrative demonstrates, volunteers claimed that not only can work such as volunteering lead to change, but that it is necessary for the proper functioning of the state and society. For instance, Alevtina (age 33) explained "For me, it's like part of the constitution – I have rights and responsibilities. This is my responsibility. Every week I need to do something for society, so that it functions normally." Meanwhile, Daria (age 39) emphasized,

> People need to learn to take responsibility for themselves, for their lives, and hopefully for their neighbors and, even better, for a few more people around them.

> When people learn to take their own lives under control and when they're able to take a few more people around them under their wing, then the country will be strong, then everything will be possible. As long as people are sitting and waiting for someone above them to decide something, to sign a new order, to carry out a new reform, to give out social benefits, the country will be weak. A strong country is one where everyone can take care of something and take on a small piece of the larger mechanism.

Oftentimes, volunteers situated the ideal of functioning state-society relations within the West while tracing the origins of Ukraine's problems to Soviet legacies. For instance, they spoke of working towards standards set by the West in order to develop a more prosperous and secure country. This logic was encouraged by the connection between volunteering in the capital and narratives from the Euromaidan, which often referenced European values. One volunteer, Olesia (age 27) reflected on the connection between volunteering and Western practices by claiming, "Now we need to borrow from the American experience. I think that people understand that volunteering is something good, something that evokes respect, and that this should be part of people's lives. I like that in the States, it's a requirement for entry into some universities." Similarly, Dmytro (age 35) remarked,

> I want [volunteers] to build a civic structure like in America or in England, like trade unions so that we can become a social force, become connected, not get in each other's way, respect each other… The next generation needs to learn about this culture [of volunteering] because we're infected by the old system.

A War on Two Fronts

Thus, while volunteers framed progress as movement towards models of citizens' empowerment imagined as Western, the Soviet system and values represented obstacles to such progress. The binary constructions of East-West and modernity-backwardness resonated in the midst of a conflict, which many volunteers viewed as a fight against the Soviet mindset and former rulers in Russia. Furthermore, it reflected dualisms from the Euromaidan, where the Yanukovych regime was constructed as a Soviet relic and the popular uprising, a rejection of the old order. In effect, for some volunteers, their work represented the continuation of a fight against the Soviet legacy in all of its forms: within the minds of the Ukrainian people, within Ukraine's system of government as well as within Russia and the Slavic world.

A common refrain amongst volunteers was that they were fighting a "war on two fronts:" one in the Donbas and one with the Ukrainian system of governance. Empowered and responsible citizenship was one of the primary weapons within this war as it represented an antidote to a history of backwardness. According to Slava (age 45), the legacies of the Soviet system included the *sovok* or someone who is constantly waiting for the government to resolve their problems. Maya (age 20) claimed this reliance on the state was the result of a history under empire, saying "We're used to always being under someone who directs us – historically we were ruled by Russia, by Poland, and then again by Russia… It started to kill our sense of individuality." Similarly, Sveta (age 43) explained,

> We're just stuck under feudalism, with feudal habits. The structure of the state isn't modern. Here, ever since the Soviet times, the master decides everything. They were the same masters, but they were just named differently: the head of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the commanding officer…

Volunteering, on the other hand, represented a rejection of the Soviet mindset and state structures. In their narratives, volunteers tied the emergence of civil society and civic empowerment directly to the dissolution of harmful historical legacies. Sveta (age 43), who had spoken of feudal habits, demonstrated this logic by contrasting a past existence under slavery and a contemporary life of greater freedom. She claimed that Soviet leaders would say, "You are slaves. You all work for me, don't open your mouth. I decide everything for you.' Now, our civil society has matured, the level of education is high, people are traveling to other countries, they see how people live, they see that you can't live like this." Similarly, Tatiana (age 52) positioned Ukrainian volunteering in opposition to a government still enmeshed in Soviet practices, saying,

> We're constantly trying to explain this to the state. Listen, state! Listen, enough of life under Soviet laws. It's time for you to understand that volunteering is power. This is a type of power that appeared all on its own, organized on its own, is creating connections on its own, and you will be forced to reckon with this power.

At times, the counter-positioning of modern civil society with a backwards state led to the creation of firm boundaries between these categories. The state represented a potential source of corruption for volunteers and a danger to their reputation as a space of Western-minded civil society. In the narratives of some volunteers, once their work

became linked with government, it was no longer pure, but instead marred by money and politics. For instance, Tatiana reflected this logic, claiming that her organization does not work with the state because "We are afraid of contagion. We're afraid of tarnishing our clean name." Her fear was justified as volunteers often viewed counterparts, who worked alongside the government as acting in the name of self-interest and money. For instance, Iryna (age 45) spoke of a group of volunteers who had served as advisors to the government, explaining, "Now people no longer trust volunteers thanks to such cases… they laid shame on the word, 'volunteer.'" Similarly to Tatiana, Iryna described the government as a space of contagion, saying:

> We have such a rotten system that, if you're inside it, you can't remain clean… Because if you're not selling yourself for money, to lobby for someone, and you go there, they're going to remove you. Because the old system is very strong. It's rotten but it's very strong. This system, it doesn't want to give anything up. Change everything and all of these old officials, oligarchs, where would they go? Into oblivion? It won't give anything up. So none of those honest and clean people want to enter into it. Most of them are volunteers.

An Ideal State of Care

Even as volunteers lauded civil society and criticized the government, they called for the creation of a normal state that would take care of the Ukrainian people. For most, volunteering in the form it took during conflict represented a temporary response to state failure and not a permanent replacement for its functions. Volunteers saw the main

problem with state-society relations in Ukraine to be the absence of a functioning state, built on professionalism, responsibility, and a culture of care. In this way, volunteers' ideal state integrated discourses of Western modernity with socialist ideals, combining them into a hybrid construction of a "normal" country.

Volunteers often described the mobilization around conflict in Ukraine as abnormal even as they idealized it as a form of citizens' empowerment and self-organization. They claimed that volunteering in normal countries like those in the West was less intensive and done in one's free time as a supplementary form of care or a way of activating government. Ultimately, they believed that volunteering should not be a replacement for state functions. For instance, Maya (age 20) spoke of volunteering in its ideal form as "moral volunteering" and "mentoring for soldiers" instead of the search for essential resources during conflict. She claimed, "In a normal country, it would be simple: a person would come and share someone else's pain, like it would be in the States… In any case, you wouldn't be looking for money, looking for work, looking for a wheel chair… looking for money to free someone from captivity." Similarly, Daria (age 39) – the same volunteer who spoke proudly of the volunteer movement as a form of civic responsibility – emphasized that it was only a temporary phenomenon, "a crutch until [the government] learns to walk on its own." She explained,

> Where in the world do you have such an outrage? There are volunteers, who walk dogs or play with children just because they feel like it. They might clean the oil off of swans… but they are completely unnecessary as an extensive structure that

replaces government bodies. We're not trying to do that. We're trying to reach a point where they learn how to work.

Thus, volunteers called for the creation of a functioning state that could resolve social issues on a systemic, mass scale. They claimed that once the state took on these responsibilities, volunteering would either cease to exist or it would transform into another form. Echoing the narratives of many volunteers, Nadia (age 24) explained, "The greatest help to volunteers would be if the government just takes on all these issues. If it does, then we've done our job. We can just go home." Meanwhile, Maryna (age 19) proposed that instead of having civic organizations take on state capacities, they should "direct their efforts at re-imagining this [state] system, how to imagine and implement it in a new way." Finally, some volunteers spoke of future plans to "professionalize" volunteering and transform the system from within. For instance, Olya (age 41) argued that volunteering should eventually transform into a profession through participation in governance. She maintained, "As long as we don't enter the state, nothing will change. Because it hasn't changed, the same people are sitting there. They are just changing hats, putting on traditional Ukrainian shirts, but really, they don't want to do anything."

For volunteers, the aim of an ideal state would be care for the population instead of the enrichment of elites. In volunteer narratives, such care entailed dealing with the effects of the Donbas conflict and extended further into a variety of societal spheres, including medicine and education as well as support for children and the elderly. As Yana (age 56) emphasized, "the state must be the guarantor of normal social conditions for the population so that a person knows that if something happens they can get decent

medical care, there will be normal pensions, that children who get sick… that the state will pay for their treatment." Similarly, Daria (age 39) imagined the ideal state as taking over the long list of volunteer tasks within her organization, which she characterized as "the redistribution of taxes in the correct manner." In her words,

> For instance, we don't have medical insurance. If a person gets sick, they're going to get treated at their own expense because we don't have enough funding for public clinics... So the Ministry of Health can take on that piece of the work right after medical reforms are passed. Access to courses, to master classes – the state takes on these issues. We're not needed. And social assistance with food, household products, diapers, and so forth, people will need this less if they have normal wages, pensions or at least if there are enough quality nursing homes and hospices. In other words, as soon as the state system starts to work normally, we're not needed.

Ultimately, for a majority of volunteers, civil society was less a replacement for the state and more of a model for the state to follow. Volunteering represented the values of civic responsibility and professionalism, which were coded as modern and Western. However, for most participants, the ideal society was one where the state itself embodied these values and took on the care of its people. For instance, Oksana (age 27) claimed, "Everyone must take responsibility. We take on this weight, we understand what we need to do. The state should do the same." Meanwhile, volunteers like Dasha (age 40) emphasized the need for professional governance as the ultimate goal by saying, "Volunteering is just the driving force. Afterwards we need to form a government… we

need to create a professional staff." Finally, Darka (age 28) imagined the ideal state as embodying volunteering by defining her organization as a model for a future Ukraine. She explained,

> It's as though, in the center of the capital city, a new country was formed in which everything was honest… In a very short time, we were able to get together, organize and do all this, and why can't the state do this? This is what astonishes everyone, that the state with its enormous potential, enormous possibilities cannot do this… I don't think we need to cooperate with the state. I think that all this should be done by the state.

Discussion

Hybrid Narratives of Civic Empowerment and State Care

For many Ukrainians, particularly those involved in the volunteer movement in Kyiv, volunteering during the Donbas conflict represented a vision for the remaking of Ukrainian society alongside ideals of self-help and functional governance constructed as part of a modern West. When rationalizing their work, these volunteers drew upon concepts of citizens' empowerment that resembled neoliberal logics. For instance, they emphasized that voluntary work and civic responsibility were central to the functioning of a "normal" society whereby the actions of private citizens – and not a passive reliance upon government – could lead to advancement and change. They presented examples, including cleaning one's environment, not accepting bribes, and caring for one's neighbors as evidence for their claims. In this way, the construction of state-society

relations amongst volunteers seemed to support the work of scholars, who view the spread of volunteering as a form of self-management that encourages the privatization of state functions (Hyatt 2001; Eliasoph 2011).

Yet, even as volunteers idealized citizens' empowerment and civic responsibility, they called for the reentry of a caring state that would take on their work and support a range of social issues. These included taking care of soldiers and civilians affected by conflict and further extended to supporting societal needs, such as the medical and education systems as well as the provision of adequate wages and pensions. Indeed, several volunteers emphasized that the motivation behind volunteering was not the desire to privatize governmental functions, but to redirect the state away from elite interests and towards serving the general public. Thus, although volunteers imagined citizens' empowerment to be part of "normal" societies, they emphasized that it could not be a replacement for a professionalized, functioning state.

In this way, volunteering during the Donbas conflict led to the construction of state-society relations in Ukraine alongside narratives that drew upon both neoliberal logics and socialist demands. Volunteers' use of seemingly contradictory narratives resembled the hybrid discourses of nonstate organizing within other postsocialist societies (Phillips 2005; Hemment 2012; Read 2014). As with Phillip's (2005) case of women NGO leaders in Ukraine and Hemment's (2012) discussion of state-driven volunteering in Russia, volunteers of the Donbas conflict did not simply adopt the ideals of civic empowerment and civil society promoted by powerful international actors.

Instead, they reflected hybrid discourses that combined multiple narratives under the powerful symbolism of a modern West.

Orientalist Binaries on the Borderlands

By speaking the language of citizens' empowerment, volunteers in Kyiv were simultaneously aligning themselves with a West imagined as modern, defining themselves against backwards elites and wartime enemies, and integrating socialist ideals into a hybrid discourse. Their narratives reflected a position on a borderlands between former European empires and contemporary world powers, where dominant discourses surrounding the definition of modernity and backwardness intersect. As with the borderlands of the United States and Mexico theorized by Gloria Anzaldúa (1999), the Ukrainian discursive context exists as a cultural space on the borders of symbolically distinct visions, the negotiation of which can cause contradictions and ambiguities. In Ukraine, these visions are often constructed around the binary symbolism of the West or Europe as well as a Slavic world or Soviet past (Torbakov 2016; Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk 2017). Moreover, they are tied to cross-cutting historical memories of political entities that led to vastly different experiences across Ukraine's territories and, in effect, are often diversely interpreted across the population today.

Within narratives of the volunteers in Kyiv, the hybrid combination of neoliberal and socialist logics was accomplished by uniting both under the symbolism of a modern West or European society. By doing so, volunteers reproduced the binaries of East versus West and modernity versus backwardness, which are characteristic of Orientalist

constructions. Within Ukraine's discursive context on the borderlands of Europe, however, their rhetorical move was not just an alignment with the powerful symbolism of European modernity. It was furthermore, 1) a rejection of Slavic world narratives mobilized during a war in the country's eastern oblasts, and 2) directed against a Ukrainian government, which was imagined as a corrupt Soviet relic.

Analyzing Ukraine and postsocialist societies as a borderlands means taking into account such a negotiation of multiple, potentially contradictory discourses by local actors. In the context of the Donbas conflict, volunteers were not just working with hegemonic constructions of civic empowerment, promoted by international actors in Western Europe and North America, as studies of neoliberalism suggest (Vogel 2006). Instead, they were simultaneously working against hegemonic notions of alternative modernities – including narratives of a Slavic world and the Soviet past. Such narratives became particularly salient after the Euromaidan revolution – which was often constructed as a turn to Europe – and during the Donbas conflict – which many volunteers perceived to be a war with Russia. Moreover, volunteers' reproduction of Orientalist East-West binaries was further positioned against powerful visions of a Slavic world and narratives from within Western Europe, which often characterize Ukraine and Ukrainianness as an extension of Russia's sphere of influence (Torbakov 2016; Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk 2017).

As this chapter demonstrates, in order to understand the effects of volunteer movements and "empowered" civic actors across the globe, scholars must ground their research in local meanings. In the case of postsocialist societies, such attention to local

meanings reveals that practices, which seem to reproduce Western-style civic empowerment are ultimately more complex and often entail hybrid discourses formed in a space of the borderlands. These borderlands are positioned differently across the postsocialist space and experienced in various ways across the population of postsocialist societies. In the case of wartime civilian volunteers in postsocialist Ukraine, they were constructed as a space in between former European empires and contemporary world powers in the European Union and Russia, and produced hybrid narratives that combined neoliberal and socialist logics.

CHAPTER FOUR: FEMININE GUARDIANS AND PROTECTORS IN THE DONBAS CONFLICT

Introduction

As volunteering rose to prominence by embodying the caring state and symbolizing Western-style citizens' empowerment, it also served as a potential space of gendered change in Ukrainian society. During the war, women increasingly entered the military, making up approximately 22.4 percent of the armed forces, lobbying the government to enter into over a hundred military occupations, from which they were previously banned, and gaining access to all military specialties, across the ranks of private, sergeant, and senior officer (Torop 2018; Ministry of Defence of Ukraine 2019). However, men continued to dominate the armed forces in terms of numbers and positions of power for reasons that included: the cultural alignment of the military with masculinity; the largescale mobilization of men into the armed forces; continued restrictions on women within the military, such as their entrance into lyceums and various occupations; as well as discrimination and sexual harassment against women within the armed forces (*TSN* 2015; Havryshko 2016; Khromeychuk 2018; Torop 2018).

Thus, many Ukrainian women chose to volunteer in support of the war effort, perceiving their work as an alternative form of service. Ukrainian women were also drawn to volunteering because of its connection to feminine forms of labor, such as caregiving. Ultimately, women took on a leading role in the wartime volunteer movement with surveys showing that they made up between 54% and 58% of all volunteers (GfK Ukraine 2014; United Nations Ukraine 2015; Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine 2018).

In particular, women were the overwhelming majority of volunteers within hospitals and centers for the displaced as well as within groups mobilizing medical support, preparing food, and weaving camouflage nets for the armed forces. Both men and women volunteered in groups that mobilized supplies for soldiers, with men tending to be more numerous within sections of such groups that collected tactical supplies and sent vehicles to the front lines.

As volunteers, Ukrainian women entered into wartime roles that were highly valued. Yet, in some ways, they continued to represent a form of secondary support for soldiers on the home front. For instance, discourses within the media often framed volunteer women alongside an ideal of women's support for their male counterparts during a time of crisis. This presented an interesting contradiction for the study of gendered transformations during war. On the one hand, volunteering offered potential paths for elevating women's status during conflict and challenging the centrality of predominantly masculine soldiers in war. On the other, it seemed to reinforce gendered divisions and hierarchies alongside binaries of public/private, protector/protected.

Challenges to the Gendered Binaries of Protection

Feminist scholars argue that a gendered dichotomy of masculine protector/feminine protected structures societies at war (Stiehm 1982; Young 2003). Alongside this gendered binary, masculine actors within the state and military are positioned as the "natural" protectors of women and other feminized civilian actors on the home front. Thus far, the literature on gendered protection has focused on wartime

contexts with strong states and clear divisions between spaces of the home front and the front lines. Meanwhile, it has not considered cases such as wartime volunteers, who act across spaces of war and peace within the context of a weak state. Such social conditions present paths for contesting wartime binaries of protection as the state is unable to fulfill the duty of masculine protector, leading civilian volunteers take on its roles as visible actors within conflict.

During the Donbas conflict, civilian volunteers represented an empowered citizenry that took on the responsibilities of the Ukrainian state, which was characterized by weakness due to decades of mismanagement and corruption. Women played a leading role in this volunteer movement, working to protect the Ukrainian people when the state could not. To some extent, women's volunteering challenged the positioning of femininity alongside the protected domestic realm, coming to be viewed as *zakhyst*, the Ukrainian term for protection. This challenge was incomplete, however, as women's volunteering also reinforced gendered narratives around the home and the symbolism of the feminine counterpart of the protector in Ukrainian society – the *berehynia* or guardian.

Volunteers as a Powerful Home Front

Within their narratives and work, volunteer women did not resemble Stiehm's (1982) dependent protected. Instead, they argued that both soldiers and civilians were dependent on volunteers in the absence of a powerful state. For instance, volunteer women claimed: "We're not afraid to come up to the state and tell them what we think…

people will trust volunteers more than anyone else;" "Volunteering is a force, which appeared on its own… and this force cannot be ignored;" "Volunteers aren't the kind of people you can just push around… because we are all leaders by character."

At times, volunteer women aligned themselves with the historical memory of societal mobilization during the Second World War in order to emphasize their value. Given the leading role of WWII within narratives and identities in Ukraine, this historical comparison highlighted both the importance of the Donbas conflict and the volunteers within it (Marples 2012; Khromeychuk 2012). For instance, Maryna (age 19) claimed volunteering was "just like we learned in books and films about the Second World War, 'forget about everything but war.'" Similarly, Masha (age 29), claimed her mentality was just like in WWII: "The whole country must rise!"

Blurring Public-Private Divides

Through volunteering and its centrality to wartime social life, women's labor gained greater visibility in Ukrainian society and volunteers themselves experienced a sense of empowerment through it. In contrast to their relative invisibility within the domestic sphere before the conflict, feminine tasks such as weaving, cooking, and providing care for civilians and soldiers entered the public realm, becoming the focus of news stories and social media posts (Buniakina 2014; *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia* 2015; Kostiuk 2017). Volunteer women also received societal recognition for such work in the form of awards from leading social actors, including the Euromaidan SOS Volunteer Award and the National Hero of Ukraine Award. In effect, volunteer women spoke of gaining "self-

confidence," feeling like they had "no boundaries," and no longer "being afraid." Oftentimes, these feelings of accomplishment were connected to feminine forms of labor. For instance, Katya (age 33), a volunteer who prepared ready-to-eat-meals for soldiers remarked that she never thought her work would "be so useful, that this will be so necessary." Meanwhile, Yana (age 56), a volunteer at the military hospital reflected that now her children saw just how much their mother could do.

In addition to enhancing the visibility of women's labor in the war effort, volunteering blurred gendered distinctions between spaces of the home front and the front lines. Volunteer women regularly travelled to military positions in order to provide aid, often in defiance of both formal and informal restrictions. Young volunteer women in particular recalled being told they were "not normal" and should remain at home in order to "cook borshch." A few likened this experience to restrictions during the Euromaidan where they were encouraged to "help in the kitchen." However, volunteering provided women with more opportunities to challenge such constraints. For one, breaching the front lines was essential to completing volunteer aims as trucks filled with supplies had to reach soldiers' positions and medical volunteers had to reach the wounded. Moreover, the distance volunteers travelled made it more difficult to turn them away. As Nadia (age 24), a volunteer who supplied the front lines claimed, in contrast to the Euromaidan, women could not easily be sent back to the kitchen: "Meaning people get somewhere after six hundred kilometres, and you tell them what — go home?"

Volunteer women claimed their right to enter the front lines in a variety of ways. Most commonly, they emphasized the centrality of feminine strengths within the war

effort, including women's ability to provide the warmth of the home and their leadership in the family. Some de-emphasized gender, arguing that there was no difference in the work performed by men and women, giving examples of women expertly performing tasks that were typically reserved for men. Finally, a few volunteers linked women's emotions and motherly instincts with "natural" advantages in waging war. For instance, Xenia (age 40), a volunteer who supplied the front lines argued, "In the woman-child relationship, the woman is the protector (*zhinka zakhysnytsia*). The father cannot compete… A woman will go and do things that a man would never do."

Zakhysnyk: Masculine Protector

As Xenia's words reveal, some volunteer women spoke of their work as protection or *zakhyst* – a term typically reserved for soldiers and men. This framing did not contest the primacy of soldiers' defence on the front lines, but instead equated volunteer contributions with it. Likening her volunteering to that of soldiers, Xenia argued, "This is also my war, I just carry it through in a different way and I wage war in a different way." Similarly, Marta (age 39), a volunteer supplying the army, spoke of "defending (*zakhyshchaty)* the country in the only way I know" and Tatiana (age 52) claimed, "We often say that we protect the protectors (*zakhyshchaiemo zakhysnykiv*). They protect us and we protect them." Meanwhile, Sonia (age 25), a volunteer who mobilized humanitarian aid to civilians, acknowledged the persisting idea that men should protect (*zakhyshchaty*) women, but maintained that volunteering showed this concept was losing power in Ukraine because women "can do anything… when you

don't get in their way." Finally, Teresa (age 45), a volunteer who transported aid to civilians in the conflict zone, remarked that through volunteering "women protected (*zakhystyly*) the nation more than men."

Within media and state discourses, the masculine term for protector or *zakhysnyk* still primarily referred to soldiers and men. However, during the Donbas conflict, an expanding definition was visible within public discourse surrounding the Defender of Ukraine Day or *Den' Zakhysnyka*, a national holiday created by President Petro Poroshenko in 2014. On social media and within news stories, volunteers defined defenders (*zakhysnyky*) of Ukraine as not only male soldiers, but also women in the armed forces, volunteers, and everyone who became involved in the war effort (Hromads'ke Radio 2015). Some politicians echoed this definition, greeting both soldiers and civilians with the Day of the Defender (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2015). For instance, in a blog entry for *Ukraïns'ka Pravda*, People's Deputy of Ukraine Ol'ha Bohomolets' wrote that the Defender of Ukraine Day is "a holiday for everyone, who defends (*zakhyshchaie*) our country today, a holiday of national unity, and not just the adult male population" (Bohomolets' 2016). Nevertheless, public debate around the holiday also revealed that many Ukrainians continued to identify it with the celebration of the army and masculinity (Polians'ka 2017). Thus, although the definition of *zakhysnyk* expanded to include volunteers and women in some cases, there were also powerful forces drawing it back into the form of the masculine soldier.

Reinforcing the Ideal of Feminine Domesticity and Care

Berehynia: Feminine Guardian

Although volunteering challenged gender binaries during conflict by contesting public/private divides and the definition of protection as masculine, it reinforced hierarchical gender structures in other ways. In particular, discourses of the media and volunteers themselves sometimes aligned divisions within volunteering with the ideal of *berehynia*, or the feminine guardian of the hearth. Women continued to dominate spaces of volunteering that focused on the work of care while men were more numerous within groups oriented towards the armed forces, often carrying out labor defined as masculine. When visible, these gendered divisions supported societal discourses on the naturalness of women's labor within the family and its secondary, supportive role within conflict.

While state discourse around the Defender of Ukraine Day acknowledged the importance of volunteers as defenders, it also portrayed them – and volunteer women in particular – as secondary to male soldiers on the front lines. In a 2015 government video, entitled "October 14 – the holiday of everyone who loves Ukraine," civilian men were represented by drone operators in an open field and a journalist alongside soldiers on the front lines while masculine voices vowed to contribute skills and risk lives for the sake of the country. Meanwhile, civilian women were represented by a nurse in the setting of a hospital and a woman knitting in the space of a home as feminine voices promised to warm heroes out in the cold and place our boys on their feet again (Poroshenko 2015). In this way, the volunteer women in the video were distanced from the military realm, which was presented as masculine and the location of the most valuable action. Instead,

they became aligned with contexts imagined as peaceful and indoors. Furthermore, in contrast to the voices of civilian men that stated direct contributions to the war effort, the intent of civilian women's actions was continuously directed towards male soldiers.

In some cases, volunteer women took part in reproducing the discourse on women's "natural" supporting role within the domestic sphere. For instance, they spoke of their groups as a space of family and explained their actions as those of figurative mothers, wives, and sisters. Moreover, a few characterized women's volunteering in reference to the ideal of *berehynia*, the keeper of the hearth. For instance, Olesia (age 27), a hospital volunteer, remarked "Girls are guardians (*berehyni*) by nature. It's more natural for women to look after someone." Similarly, Natalia (age 37), who donated money to volunteer groups, argued that God created men and women differently, giving women the roles of "guarding (*berehty)* and showing mercy."

In contrast to the masculine protector or *zakhysnyk*, *berehynia* was used to characterize a feminine form of guardianship from within the domestic realm, primarily oriented towards men and children. Valya (age 46), who also volunteered at the hospital, explained "the man is the breadwinner, the protector (*zashchitnik*) and the woman is the keeper of the hearth (*khranitel'nitsa ochata*)." According to Marusia (age 33), who mobilized supplies to the front lines, "the man feeds and protects (*zakhyshchaie*) and the woman… she waits for him, she raises his children, she supports him, she helps him… she should give him confidence that he is not alone."

Volunteer narratives of feminine guardianship entered wider societal discourse through news stories, social media, and exhibits on the war. For instance, in an interview

with *Radio Svoboda*, volunteer Raïsa Shmatko claimed that women had a "sacred duty" to create a strong home front by carrying out domestic labor and raising children in peaceful spaces of home, while male soldiers risked their lives on the front lines (Liutyi and Hryn'ov 2016). Other volunteer women reinforced the image of feminine guardians and sources of inspiration through organizing exhibits on the conflict. In a popularized series called, "If Not War," a group of hospital volunteers created a series of photography exhibits that praised the heroism of both men and women in the conflict. However, these exhibits depicted women's heroism in continuous reference to men and the masculine gaze. For instance, female soldiers donned night gowns as sources of beauty while volunteer women and the mothers of soldiers stood alongside their loved ones and sons. On the other hand, male soldiers were pictured alongside images of their dreams and plans during times of peace (Kostiuk 2016).

Gendered Sacrifice in Hospital Volunteering

Narratives of *berehynia* and feminine guardianship were particularly prominent within hospital volunteering, which was dominated by women working to heal male soldiers. Following this narrative, volunteer women within hospitals often reinforced public/private divides and unequal valuations of the labor of soldiers and volunteers through gendered constructions of sacrifice. These volunteers viewed the labor of care as a form of repayment for soldiers' "unnatural" bodily sacrifices made on the front lines of battle. Meanwhile, they characterized their own sacrifices as a form of "natural" familial love towards soldiers.

Within hospitals, volunteer women witnessed the death and mutilation of soldiers' bodies and their experiences motivated them into action. Many claimed to feel "like I'm doing too little" and desiring to do everything possible to show "the things that the boys fought for… that this is not for nothing." Volunteer women characterized soldiers' sacrifices as "unnatural," contrasting them with the lives they should have lived in times of peace and imagined their own labor as a means of reconstructing "normality" alongside gendered ideals. For instance, Lera (age 25) viewed her work at the hospital through the lens of family, claiming "the Ukrainian woman will always stand guard for her husband. They are our rock over there and we are their rock here." Meanwhile, Lesia (age 18) connected the idea of family to "natural" drives by saying, "We all have this motherly instinct and so, the boys we care for, especially if they are our own age, we act like we would towards brothers, children… they become like family."

Sacrifice was not monopolized by soldiers within the hospital. Volunteer women often spoke of being physically and emotionally exhausted from their work in ways that were dangerous. However, hospital volunteers' sacrifice became constructed alongside the domestic realm as a "natural" form of familial love that was repaid through soldiers' gratitude. For instance, some hospital volunteers claimed their sacrifices enabled them to access a true form of living, reminiscent of the family and Ukrainian womanhood. In such narratives, volunteers were fully compensated by the emotions they derived from helping soldiers and their lives were further enhanced as they took on the symbolic positions of mothers, sisters, and daughters, caring for their loved ones. According to Valya (age 46), volunteering allowed people to move "past the borders of self and other.

Because that boy is happy, he was suffering, but now it's better. He can stand up and you're so happy. You embrace each other — that's normal … we've become normal people." Meanwhile, Marusia (age 33), claimed, "I definitely know that this is a real type of life and the things that many of us are doing, and this war, and our boys, they really showed us real life."

Thus, within hospitals, volunteer women embodied gender ideals constructed around the family and feminine guardianship, while reinforcing gendered divides between home and front, war and peace. By doing so, they recreated a sense of "normality" amidst crisis. This "normal life" was built upon hierarchical valuations of sacrifice within the war effort that constructed the masculine sacrifice of soldiers as impossible to repay, while imagining the feminine sacrifice of volunteers as a "natural" form of familial love.

Discussion: Guardians and Protectors

This chapter expands the analysis of shifting gendered binaries during conflict into a postsocialist context where the space of protection has broadened to include civilian volunteers and feminine protectors. By doing so, it enables us to trace the conditions that foster such a configuration and the potential repercussions they have for gendered hierarchies and paths for action during conflict. As Bayard de Volo (2012) claims, a reliance upon studies of conflict in the global North skews our understanding of how gender structures warfare by leading us to assume relative consistency across contexts in accordance with the Western model. However, empirically based research

outside the global North, especially such that includes the voices of wartime actors outside of the military and the state, demonstrates the complexity of gendered meanings and power relations during conflict.

Volunteering in the Donbas conflict demonstrates how shifting meanings around state-society relations can have gendered effects within societies at war. In particular, when feminine civilian actors take on state responsibilities during conflict, they may be imagined as protectors in the public realm instead of a passive protected within the private. In Ukraine, volunteer women became visible, public actors within war who were recognized for replacing a weak and highly distrusted state. Their centrality to the story of the Donbas conflict led to: the alignment of feminine forms of labor with the public realm, challenges to binaries of the home front and the front lines, and the expansion of the definition of *zakhyst* or masculine protection to include women. These patterns served to enhance the status of Ukrainian volunteer women in the war effort and challenged their construction alongside a protected domestic realm. Instead, they became *zakhysnytsi*, the feminine form of the masculine *zakhysnyk*, as well as leading figures within society who were responsible for the safety of both soldiers and civilians.

Nevertheless, the context of Ukraine also demonstrates the incomplete nature of such gendered transformations as several cultural mechanisms worked to recreate a hierarchical relationship between masculine vs. feminine, public vs. private spaces during conflict and hence, the binaries of protection built around them. Gendered divisions within volunteering fit comfortably into discourses that imagined the feminine labor of care as a form of "natural" and secondary support of men within the armed forces. These

discourses constructed volunteer women as *berehyni* or guardians within the space of family regardless of the public nature and centrality of their labor. In effect, they symbolically separated feminine actors from the realm of the military, which became the space of the most socially valued forms of protection and sacrifice. As guardians or *berehyni*, volunteer women became continuously constructed in relation to male soldiers, instead of becoming primary actors on their own terms.

Despite the incompleteness of the challenge to binaries of protection, the case of Ukraine demonstrates new paths towards gendered transformations during conflict – ones that depart from patterns within societies of the global North. For instance, the weakness of the state in this postsocialist context enabled the visible and intermediate position of volunteers, who took on the responsibilities of protecting the military and society. In addition, historical memories of the Second World War produced egalitarian discourses and examples of societal mobilization, which Ukrainian women in particular could draw upon to justify their contributions. Finally, Ukrainian cultural ideals surrounding protection – those of masculine protector (*zakhysnyk*) and feminine guardian (*berehynia*) – created space for women's participation within conflict, but also complicated their incorporation into wartime roles on a level equal to masculine soldiers. The powerful image of *berehynia* often served to construct Ukrainian volunteer women's acts of protection alongside the private, domestic realm even as they took on military and state responsibilities.

CHAPTER FIVE: BECOMING VOLUNTEERS

Introduction

The literature on gender and war has largely focused on a search for challenges to unequal gender structures and for women, who resist these structures through their actions or ideologies. However, when scholars analyze social realities by equating change with movement towards gender equality, they may ignore local experiences that contradict feminist aims or obscure the ones that seem to embody them but hold divergent meanings for local, social actors. For instance, although the study of gendered binaries of protection in Chapter 6 demonstrated conditions by which gender structures can be transformed during conflict, it has told us little about how the volunteer women in this study experienced their work. Instead, it has reinforced the assumption that we have achieved meaningful information about their gender subordination – and, hence, their experiences – because these binaries constrain them as social actors by reinforcing or challenging masculine dominance.

In effect, when driven by feminist aims defined in Western contexts, discussions of gendered change during conflict can become distanced from and even contradictory to the realities of local actors. At the root of this problem is feminist scholars' continuing definition of interests and positive change alongside standards determined outside of the social groups being studied. Such definitions are grounded in the assumption that unequal, gendered structures merely constrain social actors – such as women – not allowing them to achieve inherently beneficial outcomes. Yet, as poststructuralist theorists like Saba Mahmood (2001) have argued, social structures are not only

constraining, but are also enabling, shaping actors themselves and creating particular modes of being, directed at various aims. According to Mahmood (2001), the study of these modes of being is also important because it allows us to better understand the realities of women that fall outside of the Western feminist project. Within the study of war, defining social actors and their agency as both constrained and enabled by structures can bring the focus back to how women experience their social positions instead of simply reproducing feminist discussions of empowerment, which do not resonate within many contexts.

Feminism and Postsocialism

The search for change as defined alongside Western constructions of gender equality becomes particularly problematic when it enters into contexts, where Western-style feminism does not resonate or is directly rejected by a large part of society. Within postsocialist contexts such as Ukraine, feminism has been treated with suspicion due to its connection to both Soviet and Western discourses. On the one hand, the Soviet vision of gender equality or women's emancipation is often rejected as a failed and unnatural project that produced powerful, masculinized women and weak, feminized men (Hemment 2007; Zdravomyslova and Temkina 2012; Channell-Justice 2017). On the other, the Western feminist movement is often viewed as a foreign imposition that holds little relevance for postsocialist women (Zhurzhenko 2001; Channell-Justice 2017). For instance, the feminist push for women's empowerment resembles the pursuit of conditions that were already attained during socialism and led to women's double burden

as worker-mothers. Meanwhile, the feminist focus on women's rights relies on the existence of a functioning state and stable economic conditions, often lacking in the midst of postsocialist change.

In contrast to the feminist vision, the traditional family retains centrality in Ukrainian society as a space of social survival and mutual support (Gal and Kligman 2000; Zhurzhenko 2012). Located outside of an oftentimes-unpredictable public sphere defined by money, materialism, and state corruption, the family is constructed alongside ideals of stability and human connection. Within this space, the myth of a matriarchal gender order persists, whereby women serve as *berehyni* or the guardians and protectors of the hearth, and gain access to positions of leadership and decision-making authority (Rubchak 2001). In effect, Ukrainian women's leading role within the family can be interpreted as empowering because of both the authority it entails and its location within a domestic sphere that is imagined as distanced from the effects of societal upheaval.

Within the narratives of the volunteer women of this study, the ideals of family and women's leading role within it resonated. By emphasizing their position within the domestic realm as guardians, these women often sought to highlight their use of feminine strengths towards the war effort. Yet, within the feminist search for resistance to gender structures and women's empowerment in the public realm, their actions become evidence of reinforcing their own subordination. The problem with such feminist perspectives, which tend to dominate the literature on gender and war, is that they are driven by assumptions that these women's interests were disconnected from the very structures that produced them as social actors. Thus, by defining such interests from the perspective of

predominantly Western contexts, it became less likely for them to be shared by non-Western women, shaped by distinct, historical structures and contemporary conditions.

Questions of Agency

In this chapter, I analyze volunteer women's narratives in order to understand the meanings they gave to volunteering and how they experienced their participation in this wartime endeavor. Using Saba Mahmood's (2001) concept of agency, I trace how women who became volunteers gained access to a particular mode of being, enabled by the structural conditions they inhabited. As forms of mutual support were regularly exchanged in tight-knit communities that mobilized around conflict, volunteer networks generated deep interpersonal ties, leading participants to interpret them as the space of family. Furthermore, acts of sacrifice and support came to form the basis of the identities of volunteer women, who claimed their work allowed them to access a form of "normal" or "real" life, which departed from that before the Euromaidan and the Donbas conflict. This "real" life was constructed in opposition to "others" within a separate world of consumerism and corruption, blind to the horrors of conflict.

Volunteering as Family

During the Donbas conflict, volunteer work redefined the category of family, expanding it from the private realm into the public as a mechanism to deal with social crisis. Like family, volunteer work was constructed upon close interpersonal connections and nonmonetary support within relationships defined as naturally occurring. Meanwhile,

volunteer women were key to enacting family in the public realm through their production of care work within the networks that formed. Oftentimes reflecting the narrative of a matriarchal Ukrainian family, they became leaders in volunteering and reproduced gendered ideals through their narratives, bodies, and actions.

A Natural Phenomenon

Few volunteer women in this study had experience with volunteering prior to the Euromaidan and the Donbas conflict. Most claimed that they had not planned to volunteer, but rather developments within their surroundings as well as interpersonal ties drew them into the practice. Volunteer women typically traced the beginnings of their work to social networks from the Euromaidan, family connections, and social media groups. Their narratives reflected a sense that the practice of volunteering had developed naturally, as circumstances aligned around them. For instance, Margarita (age 44), a volunteer who organized the supply, evacuation, and medical support of the army likened volunteering to a force of nature, claiming "It's like a flood, a tsunami, that's probably what volunteering is for me. Because that's exactly how it developed, wherever it takes you, you go there."

Diana (age 25), a hospital volunteer, demonstrated the sense of being drawn into volunteering by forces outside of her control by claiming, "I was never a volunteer. Actually, I never planned to become a volunteer. My sister was a volunteer. Before the Maidan she volunteered in orphanages." Diana described how she had been resistant to visiting wounded soldiers in the hospital because of the physical discomfort she

experienced around medical institutions, but agreed to go to a picnic organized for soldiers with her sister. After this visit, she explained that the soldiers asked her, "'So, are you going to visit us in the hospital?' I couldn't say no so I said, 'Yes, I'll come.' And I couldn't not go. Once, twice, a third time… now this has been going on for two years."

The narrative of Arina (age 28) similarly shows how volunteering was oftentimes not experienced as a choice, but as an effect of ever-expanding social ties that coalesced around particular individuals and groups during crisis. Arina, a volunteer originally from Donetsk who supported civilians displaced by conflict, described her volunteering as something she was "compelled" to do. After first getting involved in the Euromaidan in Donetsk, Arina and her fellow activists organized to support the family of a man, who was killed during a pro-Ukrainian rally. They bought sim cards in order to collect money for this cause, but as events took an even more violent turn, the phone numbers were distributed to more and more people, taking on a life of their own. She explained that "when the active fighting began, people kept calling them with questions about how to leave, where to temporarily settle, and so you can say, that's how we organized, or rather we were compelled to organize a hot line."

As within Arina's story, Vika (age 41) described how volunteering that was originally aimed at close contacts could grow exponentially. A volunteer who supported civilians displaced by conflict, Vika had taken part in the Euromaidan in Kyiv, but her volunteer work began in support of her family. She explained,

> I'm from the East, from the Donetsk oblast and my father is from Crimea. A large part of my relatives live in Russia, and when these events started happening in the

> East, people I knew started leaving – people that I studied with, worked with, friends, relatives – I began to resettle them amongst my friends.

However, this was only a temporary solution, and as the conflict dragged on, Vika attempted to access government support for those fleeing conflict by calling the Kyiv City State Administration. The employees at the KCSA took Vika's phone number in order to register her appeal, but told her they could do nothing. Later that day, Vika's received a phone call – not from the government – but from other civilians attempting to flee violence in the Donbas. According to Vika,

> The same day a woman from Krasnyi Luch calls me – this is in the Luhansk oblast, it's on the border with Russia and she asks if I'm involved in resettling people. I told her no. She cried and hung up the phone. I called her back and asked, "What happened to you?" She said, "They gave me your number in the KCSA," meaning the Kyiv Administration, "we're standing here, we're two women, three children, we're hungry, we're freezing, we don't know what to do." I told her, "Stay where you are, I'll drive right over." So that's how my volunteering started.

An Internal Drive

As ever-expanding social networks coalesced around volunteer women during the Donbas conflict, many found it difficult to abandon their work despite often feeling drained by it. They described a persistent need to volunteer out of a sense of responsibility towards the people they were aiding. Thus, just as volunteer women

perceived the manner in which they mobilized as "natural," they experienced the labor within volunteer networks as an effect of an internalized drive to help.

During the most difficult period of conflict, volunteer women encountered an endless list of tasks, which they tackled alongside the demands of their families and the workplace. For instance, Diana (age 25), who volunteered in the hospital, described a sense of urgency in her volunteer work, claiming, "you just enter into a hospital room, you do one, two, three things. They need food, they need to be changed, you need to find something, they need medication, they need something else. You don't even think, you just run run run." Meanwhile, Daria (age 39), a volunteer who supported civilians displaced by conflict, described her typical day of volunteering as "Hello, day. Oh God, night has come." A former film director and the mother of four children, she explained that volunteering led her to abandon both plans for directing another movie and for having a fifth child. She felt exhausted by her volunteer work, but unable to give up on the people she supported, explaining "sometimes you need to reload and just shut yourself out of all this, but I can't do that right now."

Similarly, Maya (age 20), who mobilized supplies to soldiers, claimed, "I've been trying to stop volunteering for half a year and I can't because I get the usual phone calls in the middle of the night." Maya's reference to endless phone calls was common to volunteer experiences. As they worked to aid soldiers, civilians, and their families, volunteers typically shared their personal contact information with a wide circle of people both for the purpose of providing help and collecting donations. In effect, their phones came to represent ties to the people they cared for as well as a symbol of the people that

died during the conflict or those from whom they would never again receive a call. Volunteer women's cellular phones helped perpetuate the constant drive to volunteer because they connected them to the needs of others even when they were not physically present within spaces of volunteering.

Many volunteer women echoed the sentiment of Diana, Daria, and Maya's accounts, claiming they felt a need or drive to volunteer. A few went further to characterize this state as an effect of psychology or even a mental illness because of the potential dangers it presented to volunteers themselves. Melasia (age 34), a volunteer who mobilized supplies for families of soldiers, remarked that volunteering was "a bit like a psychological illness. Once you start, you can't abandon the people. People are counting on you." Similarly, Olya (age 41), a volunteer, who mobilized support for wounded soldiers and their families claimed, "It's like a psychological dependency… It's just that we are with these boys for so long now that we can't abandon them. New needs are constantly coming up." Meanwhile, Olena (age 43), who mobilized humanitarian aid to civilians in the zone of conflict, likened volunteers who traveled to the front lines to drug addicts, explaining, "They need to be there, they need to see it, they need to breath it, they need, they just need it. And I don't even understand what they need more, the adrenaline or the desire to help or the desire to just be there."

Volunteer Women Embody Family

In this way, volunteering was constructed as a naturally occurring community that involved an internal drive to provide support to people during conflict. Due to the grave

importance of this support, tasks and ties within volunteering were difficult to abandon. In effect, volunteer women often compared the interpersonal connections that formed within their groups and the responsibilities they entailed to relationships within the family. They not only spoke of volunteering as family, but also embodied family and the feminine roles within it through their work in order to construct a protected space of home for the people they aided.

Volunteer women often spoke of strong interpersonal bonds and feelings of trust, which developed through the exchange of sacrifice and support within volunteering. Many came to view these bonds through the metaphor of family. Yustyna (age 37), a volunteer who aided soldiers on the front lines as well as within the hospital, claimed that Ukrainians were a kind of a people who could not set boundaries and, in effect, volunteer networks developed into family-like relationships. She emphasized, that within the hospital, "the wounded become close friends. They become family." Lesia (age 18), a volunteer at the military hospital, explained that such bonds developed as a result of a "maternal instinct." She continued, "These boys that we take care of, if they are our age, we treat them like brothers, like children. They become very close. We get attached to them." Such descriptions were not reserved to women, who supported wounded soldiers, but also extended to other forms of volunteering. For instance, Khrystyna (age 20), a volunteer who mobilized supplies and traveled to the front lines, remarked that her volunteer group was "like a second family for me." Meanwhile, Slava (age 45), a volunteer who provided humanitarian aid to civilians near the zone of conflict, referred to the volunteer movement as a home and the people within it as relatives.

Volunteer women not only used the metaphor of family to describe their work, they further enacted family through their volunteering. This was most evident within Tatiana's (age 52) volunteer group, which was based within her family home, but regularly traveled to the front lines to provide support to the armed forces. When describing her organization, Tatiana claimed that it was different from other groups because it was often viewed as a family. She explained, "This isn't because my entire family, the family of the founder of the group, takes part in this work, but because we have such a soulful atmosphere. You entered our organization, but you didn't come into an office. You entered a family." In order to support her claims, Tatiana spoke of the coordinated labor accomplished by her group as well as how soldiers would come to stay in her family home for days or even months. Meanwhile, when the group traveled to the front lines, Tatiana emphasized that they did so not only to bring supplies, but to share "a bit of peaceful life" with soldiers through embodying feminine roles within the family. According to Tatiana, women in her group would put on perfume and makeup on such trips, and soldiers would often be reminded of their sisters, mothers, and wives. She described soldiers' reactions by saying, "I'm fifty-two years old. They just come up to me and hug me. And many of them call me mother."

Despite her claims to the contrary, Tatiana's group was not unique in its production of family as other volunteer women similarly viewed this as one of their primary responsibilities towards populations affected by conflict. For instance, Tamara (age 40) claimed that her work of mobilizing supplies to soldiers was important, but that it was even more central to share the "warmth" of the home with them by bringing

"paintings made by children, different kinds of sweets whipped up by grandmothers, nuts and honey, these homemade things." Through enacting family in this way, volunteer women protected others and themselves from the oftentimes brutal realities of the conflict. In another example, Lera (age 25), a volunteer who aided both civilians and soldiers, described her interactions with a wounded soldier who eventually returned to serving in the army. She explained that while he was still in the hospital, they shared a joke that they were going to get married and have a wedding. Upon the soldiers' return to the front lines, his regiment fell under heavy shelling and Lera called him in order to make sure he was alive and unharmed. She recalled,

> He was emotionally yelling into the phone, cursing, that he wasn't going to survive, that he was going to die. And I told him, no, everything will be good, we still haven't had our wedding. In the evening, he phoned back and said he was still alive, but that he needed balaclavas, tactical goggles and other things.

Lera's enactment of a soldier's fiancée temporarily drew both the soldier and herself back from the horrors of the front lines into the safety of the home. Such embodiments of family were also common with the military hospital, where volunteer women reproduced familial roles in their interactions with wounded soldiers in order to redefine their social worlds. Marichka (age 29), a hospital volunteer, described the various roles she and other volunteer women would embody, characterizing herself as a flirtatious volunteer, while referring to her friend as "more like a mother… like a friend or an elder sister." Volunteer women embodied these various roles as they took on tasks within the hospital that were also accomplished by women in the household, including

bringing soldiers' medication, food, clothing, and toiletries as well as simply talking with them about their lives. Through the embodiment of feminine roles within the family, volunteer women helped recreate a space outside of the upheaval of conflict, and further reinforced the masculinity of the soldiers for whom they cared. Luba (age 37) claimed that volunteer women would "stimulate them to look after themselves," telling them "don't be lazy," "be a man," and "if you're wounded, keep yourself together on the inside."

At times, the embodiment of family within volunteering resulted in the formalization of familial relations through marriage as well as the adoption of the people volunteers aided. For instance, Olesia (age 27), a volunteer at the military hospital, spoke of how volunteer women would get married with soldiers on the front lines or those wounded within the hospital. She remarked, "I think these are very romantic stories. It's simply wonderful." One volunteer group organized a photography project called, "Love and War," which was presented on billboards around the capital and publicized on national television (Kasumova 2016; Picture 14; Picture 15). Volunteer women glorified this wartime coupling because it represented the solidification of a primary goal of their labor, the enactment of family. In addition to celebrating marriage between volunteers and soldiers, volunteer women also spoke of adopting the people they aided. Danusia (age 23) described how her mother decided to adopt a soldier, whom she met in the hospital after discovering that he had no family to take care of him. She remarked, "I have a younger sister and a mother. This is how I managed to find a brother." In this way,

volunteer women's embodiment of family could be transformed into familial relations that transcended volunteer spaces and were legally recognized within Ukrainian society.

Picture 14: "Love and War," Kyiv's Streets in February 2016 (Author's Photograph)

Picture 15: "Love and War," Kyiv's Streets in February 2016 (Author's Photograph)

Volunteering as True Life

As volunteer women embodied family, they reproduced an experience of "home" within a society in the midst of conflict. Despite the stress and trauma volunteering oftentimes entailed, they further spoke of becoming "normal" and attaining "true life" through their labor. Volunteer women often contrasted the "true life" of volunteering to the corruption and materialism that surrounded them in Ukrainian society. In this way, becoming a volunteer also meant becoming human, an experience defined in opposition to dehumanizing aspects of postsocialist Ukrainian society.

Becoming normal

After entering close-knit communities defined as family, some volunteer women came to interpret the transformation within their lives as becoming "normal" or living a "true" life. They emphasized that through the Euromaidan and volunteering during conflict, they were able to attain a new form of being, defined by the ideals of human connection and distanced from corruption and consumerism. For instance, Svitlana (age 27), a volunteer at the military hospital, claimed that her life transformed completely through her volunteer work, leading her to believe that "by helping others we don't become holy, we become normal. It's really true. Maybe during the rapid development of the country, people just forgot what it means to help, what it means to be good." While Svitlana spoke of becoming normal, Iryna (age 45), a volunteer who mobilized medical supplies for soldiers, framed her experience after the Euromaidan and volunteering as the

beginning of life itself, saying, “We all have this feeling that we began to breath on the Maidan… I made this decision two years ago. I began to live two years ago.”

The solidification of human connection within society was central to the “normal” or “true” life that volunteer women experienced. Valya (age 46), a volunteer at the military hospital, characterized this as the breaking down of divisions between “self” and “other” or the expansion of the domestic realm into the wider, social sphere. She claimed that every person had four points that formed the foundation for their soul, “the self, their family, society, and the Lord or… people might use different terms to describe this, the universe or a higher power.” She explained that prior to her volunteering, only two of these points were functioning, those of self and family, but afterwards, all four began to work. She further connected becoming a fully functioning human being on the level of the soul directly to her volunteering by saying,

> All these four points are working, and, as I said, the borders between self and other disappear because if that boy is happy, he was suffering but now he’s better, he gets up and you’re happy, you hug. That is normal, and so I think that people who became volunteers and have gone through this, we become normal people.

Similarly, Marusia (age 33) spoke of a “true” life within volunteering constructed upon relationships and human connection. Marusia began her volunteering in support of wounded soldiers in the military hospital and later began mobilizing supplies to soldiers on the front lines as well. She claimed that, “From the moment I first ended up in the hospital, when you talk to these boys, it’s not that it’s a different world, you just begin to understand that the life you had before all this, it’s all empty, a waste of time.” According

to Marusia, at this moment she began to live "a real life, new and genuine." She characterized the main aspects of this life as helping people in need as well as experiencing the pain and happiness of others. She further contrasted these experiences to the meaninglessness of material wealth. Marusia recalled how people reacted to her choice of becoming a volunteer and explained what motivated her by saying:

> People said to me, 'Have you gone crazy? What do you need all this for? You are young, beautiful, you had a great job, savings, vacations abroad, whatever clubs you wanted, restaurants and so on. So what, this is all material. This is just material stuff that you can just go and buy. You can't buy relationships. You can't buy the eyes of the boys, when you travel to them on the front lines, and they're not so much waiting for the silencers or the planks or whatever else, as much as they're waiting for the homecooked pie or some drawings from children, and how they go the front lines with these drawings and fight with them, with these amulets. Nothing will replace the phone call from the wife of a fighter, who cries into the phone and thanks you profusely because if you hadn't seen their post and hadn't started contacting television programs, and hadn't started raising awareness, that their son, who was just born, would probably have been left an orphan.

Thus, within Marusia's narrative, human connections within a "true" life were contrasted to an existence of materialism, bereft of meaning. This contrast was echoed within volunteer women's narratives, who spoke of reevaluating what was truly valuable through their work. The structure of volunteering during conflict supported such

narratives and experiences since volunteer women often re-directed much of their spare time and resources towards supporting populations in need. Marusia, for instance, had left her job after a period of juggling volunteering with paid labor and was surviving off of her savings and the support of friends in order to volunteer full-time. Similarly, Iryna (age 45), the volunteer, who had characterized her work as beginning to breath, was volunteering full-time, while being supported by her family and friends. Meanwhile, Tamara (age 40), a volunteer who mobilized supplies to the army, explained how volunteering encouraged the separation of true life in support of human connection from materialism by speaking of how her family no longer spent money on expensive food, as they had prior to the conflict. She claimed,

> It's interesting that when you start all this, your daily needs just become more minimalistic… When you need a couple of thousand to buy a night vision scope, and then you're going to spend a hundred hryvnia on buying some good cheese. This is just… so we stopped going to restaurants.

Parallel worlds

While experiencing their own lives as "normal" or "true" life, some volunteer women felt distanced from "others" in society, who lived their lives disconnected from the communities that developed around the conflict. They described growing apart from friends and relatives, who knew that the conflict in Donbas was happening, but seemingly did nothing. For instance, Katya (age 33), a volunteer who prepared ready to eat meals for soldiers explained, "I have friends, acquaintances, who are volunteers like me, and

then there are, as they say, others. And those others, despite the fact that they are relatives and acquaintances, they are just indifferent." This sense of distance from "others" in society was the result of the redefinition of volunteer women's lives alongside the realities of the people they aided and the conflict itself. Lesia (age 18) called this state of mind a minor case of Afghan syndrome where "You try to talk to [civilian people] about everyday things, but in your head you're thinking, God, my boys, I need to call them to see how everything is going... You start to grow distant from friends and you don't have the time or the will to meet with them."

Some volunteer women experienced this rift between volunteers and "others" as one between two separate worlds. The stark difference volunteers observed between spaces defined by conflict and the relatively peaceful life of the capital encouraged such interpretations. For instance, Lera (age 25) described her feelings upon visiting the military hospital for the first time, remarking that after they left the hospital, "we went to the mall and it was such a contrast. Like, in one place there's a war, people from war, who saw people die before their very eyes, their brothers, their friends… And only a kilometer away, people are living, having fun." Echoing this sentiment, Tamara (age 40) explained the experience of traveling from Kyiv to the front lines in order to transport supplies to the army by saying, "Here you live in a life of peace, here there are cafes, tea, everything is great. But when you get there, the situation is a little different. And afterwards you live from this perspective, that all in all, we are at war."

Living from the perspective of war meant the redefinition of volunteer women's realities alongside the reality of a "true" life, characterized by human connection and

meanings connected to the conflict. In contrast, they often saw the parallel world in the peaceful capital as blind to the suffering of soldiers and civilians affected by war and lost to materialism. For instance, Iryna (age 45) claimed that she was no longer interested in speaking to old friends, disconnected from the conflict and explained that she could not even comprehend what they did. She spoke of her reactions to Facebook pictures that showed her friends eating oysters in a restaurant, remarking "I know these people are rich, that they are wealthy, that they have no problems at all in their life. So what's the sense in posting this photo of what you ate for dinner in a restaurant, I don't understand it." A conversation at Tatiana's (age 52) volunteer group similarly demonstrated how volunteer women interpreted the lives of "others" in the parallel world within the capital through the lens of "true" life:

> Tatiana: We go into some café to drink a cup of tea or coffee. We see that there are people sitting and just gorging themselves. There are tables, banquets in front of them.
>
> Masha (age 29): And you can't decipher the situation anymore, you're counting: that's ten sets of warm uniforms, and there's one night vision scope.
>
> Tatiana: Here they've just eaten two sets of binoculars, and there they've devoured a night vision scope.

In this way, Tatiana and Masha demonstrated how the parallel reality of peace was blind to the needs of conflict and, instead, was filled with superficial consumption, directed at the self. Although some volunteer women acknowledged that their interpretations were problematic and were the result of wartime trauma, such as the

Afghan syndrome Lesia mentioned, others emphasized that their perceptions of reality within Ukraine were indeed apt. Back at the table in Tatiana's house, her daughter Nina (age 26) explained,

> Nina: You know, there is an interesting idea about rehabilitation. It's the question of who needs it. We travel over there, and there we see reality. And over here, there's a reality that's very twisted. So who needs to be rehabilitated — the soldiers and us, or the people who don't see what we do?
>
> Tatiana: Society needs to be rehabilitated.
>
> Nina: Meaning it's not you who is going to rehabilitate us, but we'll come to you to Kyiv and say, What war? Come on and rehabilitate to our level already because you're living in some sort of story book.

Discussion

Volunteer women in the Donbas conflict often embodied family within the public sphere, presenting themselves as mothers, wives, and daughters supporting populations in need. On the structural level, this embodiment of family reinforced essentialist understandings around women's maternal instincts as well as the alignment of femininity with a realm of domesticity. Yet, it also challenged the relegation of family and women's authority to the private sphere by enacting it as a public response to conflict. In effect, these volunteer women could be viewed as a case of Kissane and Winslow's (2016) mediated agency since their labor simultaneously reproduced and transformed social structures.

Yet, viewing women's volunteering solely from the perspective of its challenge or lack of challenge to gendered structures blinds researchers to how such volunteer work did not only constrain women but also enabled specific "modes of being, responsibility, and effectivity" during war (Mahmood 2001: 212). Mirroring the mechanisms of the postsocialist Ukrainian family, women's volunteer work centered on the labor of care and protecting the family unit in the midst of societal upheaval. The effects of this labor, however, were not only the resolution of pressing social issues. Volunteer women also constructed spaces of shelter amidst violent conflict and produced feelings of "home" for civilians and soldiers caught within it. By doing so, they created and experienced a form of "true" or "normal" life, built upon human connections and detached from corruption and materialism.

Similar to Mahmood's (2001) and Avishai's (2008) studies, the close-knit communities of volunteers became fertile ground for achieving forms of agency or being that were experienced as fulfilling, even as – or because of the fact that – they entailed restrictions and sacrifices. Within postsocialist Ukraine, the "true" life of volunteering became meaningful and productive by creating spaces of human connection that departed from a postsocialist Ukrainian society, defined as dehumanizing. Volunteer women constructed their labor in support of populations affected by war in opposition to "others" in parallel worlds, who were lost to materialism and a meaningless system of values. Thus, through embodying family, volunteer women were not only reproducing restricting gendered structures, but were further enabling idealized spaces of community to take shape.

Examining volunteer women through Mahmood's (2001) definition of agency enabled a discussion of what embodying volunteering in the Donbas conflict meant to the women that took part in it. It sheds light on aspects of this practice that were central to their wartime realities yet absent through a theoretical lens that defines change alongside Western feminist ideals of gender equality. For volunteer women, the creation of the category or space of volunteering was the most important change in their lives, since it enabled transformative experiences interpreted as "true" life. Although shifts in overarching structures helped produce this experience, they didn't do so in ways that necessarily liberated women, but rather relocated them in meaningful ways alongside constructions of family and society, public and private. Within the study of gender and war, the analysis of how new categories such as "volunteers" are created and the changes they entail for agents that are enabled through them presents a way for: 1) moving past the discussion of change as solely defined by empowerment and oppression, and 2) gaining greater understanding of how wartime actors experience the structural conditions, which they inhabit.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This dissertation began with the questions: How does war transform social life? How do actors outside of the military and state transform societies at war? Using qualitative methods, it looked to the case of civilian volunteers in the Donbas conflict to shed light on this line of inquiry. This case proved particularly relevant to investigating the reimagining of state-society relations as well as gendered transformations during war. Moreover, the methodology chosen within this study provided insight into civilians' wartime discourses, practices, and experiences relating to these issues.

Hybrid Discourses of Volunteering

During the Donbas conflict, volunteering entered the forefront of the Ukrainian public's consciousness, becoming the most trusted societal institution and a space where ideals around state-society relations were being reimagined. Chapter 3 analyzes the narratives of Ukrainian volunteers in order to understand how they made sense of their relationship with the state. Sociologists have claimed that volunteering represents the spread of neoliberal logics of self-management, which enable the privatization of state functions (Hyatt 2001). However, the discourses of the volunteers of the Donbas conflict reflected a hybrid combination of neoliberal concepts of citizens' empowerment with socialist demands for state care. On the one hand, wartime volunteers described themselves as responsible citizens and empowered actors, who could transform Ukrainian society. On the other, they emphasized that did not intend to replace the state, but were

only working until it learned to take care of its citizenry and function in a normal, responsible manner.

The hybrid discourses of volunteers in the Donbas conflict reflected the context of a borderlands, where multiple cross-cutting discourses are negotiated by actors in ways that can lead to contradictions and ambiguities (Anzaldúa 1999). Thus, volunteering did not represent the spread of neoliberal logics, but rather it was a case of local actors reconfiguring multiple narratives of state-society relations that pervaded their discursive landscape. In addition to voicing hybrid discourses around their work, volunteers reproduced Orientalist binaries of East-West as well as modernity-backwardness in their vision of state-society relations. By doing so, they not only aligned themselves with the symbols of Western modernity, but further rejected powerful discourses of a Slavic world and the Soviet past, which they linked to corrupt governance and a Russian incursion into Ukrainian territories. Thus, as with the creation of hybrid discourses, volunteers reproduced Orientalist binaries not simply as a reflection of dominant ideals, but through the negotiation of multiple narratives, connected to cross-cutting historical memories and contemporary realities.

Volunteering and Gendered Change

Volunteering during the Donbas conflict was not only a site for reimagining state-society relations, but further created paths for gendered change as it brought greater visibility to women's contributions to the war effort. Chapter 4 theorizes on how women's volunteering during the Donbas conflict both counteracted and reinforced

gendered divisions within society, including the binary of masculine protectors and feminine protected. The challenge that volunteering presented to gender hierarchies during war was accomplished through: aligning feminine forms of labor with the public realm, blurring the binaries of the home front and the front lines, and expanding the definition of *zakhyst* or protection to include women actors. These patterns served to enhance the visibility and status of Ukrainian volunteer women in the war effort and challenge their construction alongside a protected domestic realm. Nevertheless, the case of Ukraine also shows the incomplete nature of this gendered transformation as cultural mechanisms worked to recreate hierarchical divides between masculine and feminine spaces during the conflict. Gendered divisions within volunteering aligned with narratives that presented women's care towards civilians and soldiers as "natural." These discourses constructed volunteer women as *berehyni* or guardians within the realm of family despite the public nature of their labor and its centrality to the war effort.

In effect, as Ukrainian women's volunteering challenged gendered binaries of protection, it also reproduced women's participation in wartime roles that could be viewed as secondary to those of men. In fact, many volunteer women's narratives reinforced such an interpretation by locating femininity alongside a supporting, domestic realm. Through the lens of feminist scholarship on war and gender, their narratives could be seen as an example of women reinforcing the structural conditions for their own oppression. However, such a framing would mask the ways in which these volunteers experienced the structural circumstances they inhabited not only as constraining but also enabling.

The feminist literature on gender and war often focuses on questions of empowerment and structural change that are defined by standards developed in Western academic institutions. This presents the potential for constructing women from non-Western contexts as oppressed, since their actions or narratives don't register as benefiting women alongside Western feminist scales (Mohanty 1991). In order to address these issues, in Chapter 5, I propose redefining – or more precisely defining – agency within the study of gender and conflict by connecting it to wider sociological discussions of the concept. I use Saba Mahmood's (2001) conception of agency as a "mode of being" in order to bring to light volunteer women's experiences of their work during conflict without reproducing standards of empowerment that they may not consider meaningful within their lives. I argue that through volunteering, women expanded the category of family into Ukraine's wartime public realm and came to embody gendered ideals, such as mother, daughter, and wife. By doing so, they reproduced a space of human connection and home for both volunteers and the people they aid, which some came to experience as "normal" or "true" life. Moreover, the "mode of being" created through volunteering became positioned against dehumanizing experiences connected to materialism and corruption within postsocialist Ukrainian society.

Contributions

Although this dissertation focuses on a single case, it presents important contributions to the literature on social change during war, research on voluntarism, the sociology of gender as well as the study of postsocialist societies. Firstly, it brings focus

to societal spaces beyond the military and the state in order to demonstrate the centrality of civilians to wartime social life and its transformation. By doing so, this dissertation aims to expand what it means to study wartime change and to help bring civilians' lives and experiences into the center of such research.

Next, this dissertation offers a critique of studying volunteering across the globe as the spread of neoliberal logics and hegemonic cultural values, connected to the global North. Postsocialist societies like Ukraine are oftentimes studied as contexts, which transition towards their more powerful neighbors and adopt their cultural practices. Yet, such studies ignore the negotiations that actors within these contexts make amongst multiple, competing discourses in their surroundings as well as how these discourses are connected to complex historical memories and contemporary power relations. In other words, these studies are interested in the extent to which postsocialist societies adopt practices such as civil society or volunteering, but say little about how such change occurs and place less focus on the meanings given to these practices by local actors.

I propose using Gloria Anzaldúa's (1999) concept of the borderlands in order to move beyond the language of transition or cultural hegemony and towards understanding how actors negotiate multiple competing discourses within their surroundings. Moreover, in order to clarify the discursive context of postsocialist societies, I argue that such multiple discourses must be understood in relation to competing and cross-cutting visions of East-West and modernity-backwardness, which harken to histories on the borderlands of former European empires and contemporary world powers in various ways. In the context of Ukraine, these include the Slavic world and modern European narratives.

Within the study of gender and war, the case of wartime civilian volunteering in Ukraine demonstrates how gender structures can be simultaneously challenged and reproduced, and locates the conditions that can lead to such outcomes. Yet, it also shows that the framing of structural change within feminist literature may ultimately do little to illuminate the realities of wartime social actors. If indeed, feminists are interested in understanding the social reality of war, they must work to not only study paths towards gender equality, but also to bring in the experiences of wartime actors that may counter their political goals. This can be done by conceptualizing agency as a product of societal structures and studying how such structures both constrain and enable actors across diverse global contexts.

Finally, this dissertation has aimed to shift the understanding of what is central to the study of a postsocialist Ukrainian society. Across various literatures, Ukraine is typically assumed to be transitioning towards an ideal, grounded outside of its historical location – for instance, towards a Western-style civil society or towards a feminist vision of gender equality. Within such research, the multi-vocal complexity of this postsocialist context is lost and attaining such ideals is oftentimes deemed a failure. In order to advance the study of postsocialist Ukraine, conceptions such as state-society relations and gender must be grounded within its history and contemporary societal patterns. Scholars must further pay more attention to the outcomes of societal processes in Ukraine and the meanings they hold for local actors, instead of simply tracing whether they reflect categories within their disciplines.

Future Research

Civil Society in Postsocialist Societies

Future research on civil society within the postsocialist space requires continuously grounding scholarly definitions in the visions and realities of local actors, and not simply reproducing logics that assume a singular model of citizens' engagement that they transition towards – even when actors seemingly embrace such a path. This means moving past viewing the reflection of Soviet discourses as a detriment to the development of Ukraine's civil society, or, conversely, viewing the use of narratives of civic empowerment as evidence of the spread of hegemonic cultural practices. Instead, scholars should identify what desired change means from the perspectives of local actors and determine how such change might be achieved. For instance, if the ideal of state-society relations in Ukraine is defined as the movement towards a functioning, caring state, scholars should turn their sites towards analyzing examples of where the state has been transformed to function for the populace and how this was accomplished.

Gender and War

The complexities within the case of volunteering in the Donbas conflict became visible through analyzing the narratives and experiences of civilian actors outside of the global North. Promising directions for future studies in gender and conflict involve both the expansion of geographic breadth and a focus on the voices of new wartime actors outside of the state and military, which have arisen in the midst of neoliberal transformations and technological advances (Abrahamsen and Williams 2011; Bayard de

Volo 2016). Another valuable path for research on gender and conflict would be an expanded investigation into how men may interpret social meanings around protection, for instance, while embodying wartime injuries or participating in volunteering alongside feminine forms of labor.

Gender and Postsocialist Ukraine

Postsocialist Ukraine offers promising ground for the future study of gender as a social process, but much of the current feminist research on this context tends to reproduce binary, Western models of progress. Instead, scholars of gender in Ukraine must work to ground their research in the cross-cutting societal discourses that reflect ideas of East-West, modernity-backwardness in order to understand how they shape gendered change within the country. For instance, how do discourses of modern Europe, the Ukrainian nation, the Slavic world or hybrid combinations interact to produce lived realities for societal actors – particularly those who are at the intersection of subordinated categories that are meaningful to Ukrainian social life, such as gender, sexuality, and social class?

Within the study of gendered processes during the Donbas conflict, it would be interesting to continue investigating the ways in which war has created space for or inhibited gendered change. For instance, in recent years, the Ukrainian language has shifted to include feminized versions of professions and wartime actors, including feminine protectors (*zakhysnytsia*), brave women (*myzhna zhinka*), and women fighters

(*bijchynia*). What has encouraged such gendered change and what has been its effect within the experiences of Ukrainian women and men?

APPENDIX A: Recruitment Message

Dear [Name],

My name is Christina Jarymowycz and I am a doctoral candidate in sociology from Boston University, USA on a Fulbright grant in Ukraine. I am currently in the process of collecting data for my doctoral dissertation on the experience of volunteering in support of Ukrainian troops and displaced people during the conflict in Donbas. Your name has been recommended to me by [Referral] as a possible interviewee on account of your role in [Relevant role].

The purpose of this letter is to ask for your participation in this research as an interview subject. In particular, I would like to interview you about your [work with / participation in] volunteer organizations. The interview would last approximately [45 minutes / 1 hour]. Your participation would be purely voluntary. If you agreed to participate, you would be able to discontinue the interview at any time or exclude the use of any of your responses. Although you might not directly benefit from this interview, your participation would contribute to better understanding the volunteer experience in contemporary Ukraine.

If you agreed to participate in this project, I would request your permission to audiotape the interview. However, if you do not wish to be taped, you can still take part in the study. Your data will remain completely confidential and will not be released in any way that could be linked to you. If any interview excerpts are used in the study, the identities of individuals will be disguised. Data from this study (including the recordings) is kept locked in password-protected files and will be destroyed 5 years after the project's conclusion.

I eagerly await your response. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by email (coj@bu.edu) or by phone (+380 96 651 4325).

Sincerely,

Christina Jarymowycz
PhD candidate – principal investigator
Boston University

APPENDIX B: Guiding Interview Questions

1. **How did you become a volunteer?**
   - Why this organization?
   - Does it relate to your own life in any way?
2. **Can you tell me about your typical week volunteering?**
   - How did you decide to do these tasks? Did you choose them?
   - Who do you normally work with?
   - Do you have groups that work together under a leader? How is the organization shaped?
3. **Has this volunteer work changed in the past year?**
   - How has your role changed?
   - Did you choose these changes?
4. **Has volunteering led to changes in your daily life?**
   - Have you changed jobs? Why?
   - Less free time?
   - Do volunteers ever help each other in times of need?
5. **What were some of the tasks that made you feel the most fulfilled?**
   - Did you expect to feel this way? Why / not?
   - Did you know these people from before volunteering?
   - Has volunteering led you to do things you would have thought you could not do before?

6. **Have there been others that you would never do again?**
    - Have you felt in danger during your work?
7. **Do you think men and women experience volunteering differently?**
    - Do they have different roles in the volunteer work? Why?
    - Do women / men ever take on roles that are not typical for their gender?
    - How do people react to this?
8. **Do you think women are just as central to this organization as men?**
9. **How does the organization find money to operate?**
    - Do you have support from the government?
    - From international or social partners?
10. **Should society continue to volunteer after the war ends?**
    - Do you think your volunteering has changed how you approach life?
    - Has it changed what you think government responsibility should be?
11. **What are your hopes for Ukraine's future?**

APPENDIX C: Demographic Information Survey: English

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the study. Your information will be kept anonymous and confidential. The data collected in this study will be presented in academic articles in summary form. If you have any questions on how to complete the survey, please contact Christina Jarymowycz (+380 96 651 4325 or coj@bu.edu). You may leave blank any question you do not want to answer.

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

1. What is your gender? ☐ male ☐ female

2. What is your age?_____years

3. Where were you born? _____

4. Where do you currently reside? _____

5. What is your citizenship? _____

6. What is your nationality? (choose all answers that may apply or write an additional answer in the space provided)

Ukrainian	☐	Moldovan	☐	Romanian	☐
Russian	☐	Crimean Tatar	☐	Polish	☐
Ukrainian and Russian	☐	Bulgarian	☐	Jewish	☐
Belarusian	☐	Hungarian	☐	Other:	☐

7. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (choose one answer or write an additional answer in the space provided)

Elementary (up to grade 6)	☐	Vocational school after grades 10-11	☐
Incomplete Middle School (up to grade 9)	☐	Special Middle Education (such as a “technikum”)	☐
Vocational Schooling after grades 7-8	☐	Incomplete Higher Education (3 years or more)	☐
Completed Middle School General Edu- cation (grades 10-11)	☐	Completed Higher Education	☐
Difficult to say:	☐	Other:	☐

8. Which of the following statements most closely describes the financial status of your family? (please choose one response)

We do not have enough money for food	☐
We have enough money for food, but it is difficult to buy clothing	☐
We have enough money for food and clothing, and we can put some money away, but this is not enough to buy expensive things (such as a refrigerator or a television)	☐
We can afford to buy some expensive things (such as a television or a refrigerator)	☐
We can afford to buy anything we want	☐

9. What is your marital status? (choose one response or write in an additional answer)

single	☐
married	☐
widowed	☐
divorced	☐
☐ Other: _____	

10. Do you have any children? ☐ yes ☐ no
If yes, how many children? _____ How old are they?

11. Are you religious? ☐ yes ☐ no
If yes, what is your religion? (choose one answer or write in an additional response)

Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)	☐	Islam	☐
Orthodox Church (Kyiv Patriarchate)	☐	Judaism	☐
Orthodox Church (Autocephalous)	☐	Buddhism	☐
Ukrainian Greek Catholicism	☐	Other:	☐
Roman Catholicism	☐	Difficult to say	☐
Protestantism	☐		

QUESTIONS ABOUT VOLUNTEER WORK

12. What is your primary role in your volunteer group (e.g. leader, founder, volunteer…)?

13. What are your main responsibilities in your volunteer organization?

14. What is the approximate number of volunteers in your volunteer organization?

Men	Women

15. Can you recommend other volunteer women, working in support of Ukrainian troops and people affected by the current conflict in Kyiv or in other cities, who may be interested in taking part in this study?

Name	Email Address, Facebook Page, or Phone Number

APPENDIX D: Demographic Information Survey: Ukrainian

Дякуємо, що погодилися взяти участь у дослідженні. Уся зібрана інформація є анонімною і залишиться конфіденційною. Отримані у дослідженні дані будуть викладені у наукових статтях в узагальненому вигляді. У випадку будь-яких запитань при заповненні анкети, будьласка, зверніться до головної дослідниці Христини Яримович (+380 96 651 4325 або coj@bu.edu). Ви можете пропустити питання, на які не хочете відповідати.

СОЦІАЛЬНО-ДЕМОГРАФІЧНІ ПИТАННЯ

1. Стать: чоловік ☐ жінка ☐

2. Скільки років Вам вже виповнилося? _____ років

3. Місце народження: _____

4. В якому місті Ви зараз живете? _____

5. Яке у Вас громадянство? _____

6. Ким Ви вважаєте себе за національністю? (виберіть всі відповіді котрі вам підходять або випишіть додаткову відповідь)

Українець	☐	Молдаванин	☐	Румун	☐
Росіянин	☐	Кримський Татарин	☐	Поляк	☐
І Українець і Росіянин	☐	Болгарин	☐	Єврей	☐
Білорус	☐	Угорець	☐	Інша:	☐

7. Яка у Вас освіта? (виберіть онду відповідь або випишіть додаткову)

Початкова (менше 7 класів)	☐	СПТУ, ПТУ після 10-11 класів	☐
Неповна середня (менше 10 класів)	☐	Середня спеціальна (технікум тощо)	☐
РУ, ФЗУ, ПТУ після 7-8 класів	☐	Неповна вища (3 курси і більше)	☐
Повна середня, загальна (10-11 класів)	☐	Повна вища	☐
Важко сказати	☐	Інша:	☐

8. Яке з тверджень найточніше відповідає фінансовому становищу Вашої сім'ї? (виберіть одну відповідь)

Нам не вистачає грошей навіть на їжу	☐
Нам вистачає грошей на їжу, але купувати одяг вже важко	☐
Нам вистачає грошей на їжу, одяг і ми можемо дещо відкладати, але цього не вистачає, щоб купувати дорогі речі (такі як холодильник або телевізор)	☐
Ми можемо дозволити собі купувати деякі коштовні речі (такі як телевізор або холодильник)	☐
Ми можемо дозволити собі купити все, що захочемо	☐

9. Який у вас сімейний стан: (виберіть онду відповідь або випишіть додаткову)

неодружений / неодружена	☐
одружений / одружена	☐
вдівець / вдова	☐
розлучений / розлучена	☐
☐ Інша: _____	

10. У вас є діти? так ☐ ні ☐
Якщо так, скільки у вас дітей? _____
Скільки їм років? _____

11. Чи відносите Ви себе до певної релігії чи віросповідання? так ☐ ні ☐
Якщо так, віруючим якої церкви, конфесії Ви себе вважаєте? (виберіть одну відповідь або випишіть додаткову)

Українська православна церква (Московський патріархат)	☐	Іслам	☐
Українська православна церква (Київський патріархат)	☐	Іудаїзм	☐
Українська автокефальна православна церква	☐	Буддизм	☐

Українська греко-католицька церква	☐	Інша церква / конфесія: _____	☐
Римо-католицька церква	☐	Важко сказати	☐
Протестантські християнські церкви	☐		

ПИТАННЯ ПРО ВОЛОНТЕРСЬКУ ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ

12. Який Ваш стосунок до організації (наприклад лідер, засновник, волонтер…)?

_____

_____

13. Які Ваші обов'язки зараз у волонтерській організації?

_____

_____

14. Приблизна кількість волонтерів у Вашій волонтерській організації:

Чоловіки	Жінки

15. Кого із жінок-волонтерів, котрі працюютъ в громадських організаціях на підтримку українських військ і людей під час конфлікту в Донбасі (як у Києві, так і в регіонах), порадите також опитати для цього дослідження? Вкажіть топ-3 варіанти:

Ім'я та прізвище	Електронна адреса, Фейсбук, або номер телефону

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahamsen, Rita and Williams, Michael C. 2011. *Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Afshar, Haleh. 2004. "Introduction: War and peace: what do women contribute?" Pp. 1-7 in *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives*, edited by H. Afshar and D. Eade. Oxford, UK: Oxfam GB.

Afshar, Haleh and Deborah Eade, eds. 2004. *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives*. Oxford, UK: Oxfam GB.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. 1999. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. 2nd ed. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.

Ashwin, Sarah. 2006. "The post-Soviet gender order: imperatives and implications." Pp 32-56 in *Adapting to Russia's New Labor Market*, edited by S. Ashwin. New York: Routledge.

Avishai, Orit. 2008. "'Doing Religion' in a Secular World: Women in Conservative Religions and the Question of Agency." *Gender & Society* 22(4): 409-433.

Barman, Emily. 2017. "The Social Bases of Philanthropy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 43: 271-90.

Bayard de Volo, Lorraine. 2012. "A Revolution in the Binary? Gender and the Oxymoron of Revolutionary War in Cuba and Nicaragua." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37(2): 413-439.

Bayard de Volo, Lorraine. 2016. "Unmanned? Gender Recalibrations and the Rise of Drone Warfare." *Politics & Gender* 12:50-77.

BBC News. 2005. "Timeline: Battle for Ukraine." January 23. Retrieved January 30, 2019 (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4061253.stm).

BBC News. 2014. "Ukrainian crisis: Timeline." November 13. Retrieved March 3, 2019 (https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26248275).

BBC News. 2015. "Poroshenko pidpysav ukaz pro pryzov do armiii." February 17. Retrieved March 6, 2019 (https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/politics/2015/02/150217_poroshenko_conscription_hk).

Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bohomolets', Ol'ha. 2016. "Z Dnem zakhysnyka Ukraïny!" *Ukraïns'ka Pravda*, August 14. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/bogomolec/580093cb5f7bd/).

Buniakina, Dar'ia. 2014. "Cherkas'ki volonterky hotuiut' 'Ukrops'kyi sukhpai.'" *Radio Svoboda*, November 17. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/26696483.html).

Cavanagh, Clare. 2004. "Postcolonial Poland." *Common Knowledge* 10(1): 82-92.

Central State Archive of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (CSASB Ukraine). 1991. "Vidomist' pro rezul'taty Vseukraiins'koho referendumu, 1 hrudnia 1991 r." *CSASB Ukraine*. Retrieved March 3, 2019 (http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/15r-V_Ref/index.php?11).

Channell-Justice, Emily S. 2017. "'We're Not Just Sandwiches': Europe, Nation, and Feminist (Im)Possibilities on Ukraine's Maidan." *Signs* 42(3): 717-741.

Chari, Sharad and Katherine Verdery. 2009, "Thinking between the Posts: Postcolonialism, Postsocialism, and Ethnography after the Cold War." *Comparative Studies in Soviety and History* 51(1): 6-34.

Chernysh, Natalia. 2012. "Mova ta identychnist' u suchasnomu sviti." *Language and society* 3: 13-22.

Chong, Kelly H. 2006. "Negotiating Patriarchy: South Korean Evangelical Women and the Politics of Gender." *Gender & Society* 20(6): 697-724.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 2007. *From where we stand: war, women's activism and feminist analysis*. New York, NY: Zed Books.

Corbesero, Susan. 2010. "Femininity (Con)scripted: Female Images in Soviet Wartime Poster Propaganda, 1941-1945." *Aspasia* 4: 103-120.

Corestone Group and GfK Ukraine. 2018. "Doslidzhennia blahodiynykh organizatsij ta uchast' naselennia y blahodijnykh i volonters'kykh proektakh." February. Retrieved February 21, 2019 (https://zagoriy.foundation/Charity_report_2017_Zagoriy_Foundation.pdf).

D'Anieri, Paul, Kravchuk, Robert S. and Taras Kuzio. 1999. *Politics and Society in Ukraine*. New York, NY: Westview Press.

Democratic Initiatives Foundation (DIF). 2014. "Richnytsia Majdanu – opytuvannia hromadskoii ta ekspertnoii dumky." 19 November. Retrieved March 5, 2019

(https://dif.org.ua/article/richnitsya-maydanu-opituvannya-gromadskoi-ta-ekspertnoi-dumki).

Democratic Initiatives Foundation (DIF). 2016. "2016: politychni pidsumky – zahal'nonatsional'ne opytuvannia." 28 December. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://dif.org.ua/article/2016-y-politichni-pidsumki-zagalnonatsionalne-opituvannya).

Democratic Initiatives Foundation (DIF). 2018. "Hromadians'ka pasyvnist'." March 28. Retrieved March 9, 2019 (http://dif.org.ua/article/gromadyanska-pasivnist).

Diuk, Nadia. 2006. "The Triumph of Civil Society." Pp. 69-83 in *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough*, edited by A. Aslund and M. McFaul. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Diuk, Nadia. 2014. "Euromaidan: Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution." *World Affairs* March/April: 9-16.

Dzerkalo Tyzhnia. 2015. "Volonter Lesia Lytvynova: Ia liubliu tsiu kraïnu, liubliu tsykh liudei. U mene vystachyt' na nykh terpinnia." *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*, February 13. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://dt.ua/personalities/volonter-lesya-litvinova-ya-lyublyu-cyu-krayinu-lyublyu-cih-lyudey-u-mene-vistachit-na-nih-terpinnya-_.html).

Eichler, Maya. 2011. *Militarizing Men: Gender, Conscription, and War in Post-Soviet Russia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Eliasoph, Nina. 2011. *Making Volunteers: Civic Life after Welfare's End*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Enloe, Cynthia H. 2000. *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Enloe, Cynthia H. 2007. *Globalization and militarism: Feminists make the link.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

European Commission. 2018. "Ukraine." *European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations*. Brussels, Belgium. Retrieved June 21, 2018 (http://ec.europa.eu/echo/where/europe/ukraine_en).

Fieseler, Beate, Hampf, M. Michaela and Jutta Schwarzkopf. 2014. "Gendering combat: Military women's status in Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union during the Second World War." *Women's Studies International Forum* 47: 115–126.

Gal, Susan and Gail Kligman. 2000. *The politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative Historical Essay*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gatskova, Kseniia and Maxim Gatskov. 2016. "Third Sector in Ukraine: Civic Engagement Before and After the 'Euromaidan.'" *Voluntas* 27: 673-694.

Gerasimov, Ilya. 2014. "Ukraine 2014: The First Postcolonial Revolution. Introduction to the Forum." *Ab Imperio* 3/2014: 22-44.

GfK Ukraine. 2014. "Volonters'kyi Rukh v Ukraïni." December 5. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.gfk.com/fileadmin/user_upload/dyna_content_import/2015-09-01_press_releases/data/ua/Documents/Presentations/report_vyshlisky.pdf).

GfK Ukraine. 2015. "Results of Survey: 'Youth of Ukraine – 2015.'" *Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine*. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://ukraine.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Youth_2015_infographics.pdf).

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giles, Wenona and Jennifer Hyndman. 2004. "Introduction: Gender and conflict in a global context." Pp. 3-23 in *Sites of violence: Gender and conflict zones*, edited by W. Giles and J. Hyndman. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Grabowska, Magdalena. 2012. "Bringing the Second World In: Conservative Revolution(s), Socialist Legacies, and Transnational Silences in the Trajectories of Polish Feminism." *Signs* 37(2): 385-411.

Hankivsky, Olena and Anastasiya Sanykova. 2012. "Introduction: Gender in Transition: Legacies, Opportunities, and Milestrones in Post-Soviet Ukraine." Pp 3-35 in *Gender, Politics and Society in Ukraine*, edited by O. Hankivsky and A. Salnykova. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Haran, Olexiy. 2011. "From Viktor to Viktor: Democracy and Authoritarianism in Ukraine." *Demokratizatsiya* 19(2): 93-110.

Harding, Sandra. 1987. *Feminism and methodology: Social science issues*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Havryshko, Marta. 2016. "Henderne nasyl'stvo v partnerstvakh viis'kovykh: naratyv zhiky, iaka vyzhyala." *Povaha*, September 14. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (http://povaha.org.ua/henderne-nasylstvo-v-partnerstvah-vijskovyh-naratyv-zhinky-yaka-vyzhyla/).

Hays, Sharon. 1994. "Structure and Agency and the Sticky Problem of Culture." *Sociological Theory* 12(1): 57-72.

Hemment, Julie. 2004. “The Riddle of the Third Sector: Civil Society, International Aid, and NGOs in Russia.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 77(2): 215-241.

Hemment, Julie. 2007. *Empowering Women in Russia: Activism, Aid, and NGOs.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hemment, Julie. 2012. “Redefining Need, Reconfiguring Expectations: The Rise of State-Run Youth Voluntarism Programs in Russia.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 85(2): 519-554.

Howard, Marc M. 2003. *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hromads’ke Radio. 2015. “Sviato 14 zhovtnia ne maie stosunku do stati, -- Mariia Berlins’ka.” August 15. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://hromadske.radio/podcasts/hromadska-hvylya/svyato-14-zhovtnya-ne-maye-stosunku-do-stati-mariya-berlinska).

Hrynevych, Vladyslav. 2005. “Mit Vijny ta Vijna Mitiv.” *Krytyka* 5. Retrieved March 5, 2019 (https://krytyka.com/ua/articles/mit-viyny-ta-viyna-mitiv).

Hrytsak, Yaroslav. 1998. “National Identities in Post-Soviet Ukraine: The Case of Lviv and Donetsk.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22: 263 – 281.

Hrytsenko, Anna. 2014. “Kak Evromaidan otpravlial zhenshchin na kukhniu.” *Hendernyi Zhurnal “Ia”* 2(36): 22-26.

Hyatt, Susan B. 2001. “From Citizen to Volunteer: Neoliberal Governance and the Erasure of Poverty.” Pp. 201-235 in *The New Poverty Studies: The Ethnography of Power, Politics and Impoverished People in the United States*, edited by J. G. Goode and J. Maskovsky. New York: New York University Press.

International Republican Institute (IRI). 2015. “Ukrainian Municipal Survey.” *International Republican Institute*. Retrieved March 5, 2019 (http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2015-05-19_ukraine_national_municipal_survey_march_2-20_2015.pdf).

Jilge, Wilfried. 2006. “The Politics of History and the Second World War in Post-Communist Ukraine (1986/1991 – 2004/2005).” *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas* 54: 50 - 81.

Karpov, Vladimir. 2015. “Politika iskakheniia roli zhenshchin v voenno-politicheskikh sobytiiakh.” *Hendernyi Zhurnal “Ia”* 1(37): 10-14.

Kasumova, Roksana. 2016. “Kokhannia I vijna. Bijtsi ATO pro znajdene shchastia.” February 14. *Ukraiins’ka Pravda*. Retrieved March 10, 2019 (https://life.pravda.com.ua/society/2016/02/14/208140/).

Khmelko, Irina and Yevgen Pereguda. 2014. “An Anatomy of Mass Protests: The Orange Revolution and Euromaydan Compared.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47: 227-236.

Khromeychuk, Olesya. 2012. “The Shaping of ‘Historical Truth’: Construction and Reconstruction of the Memory and Narrative of the Waffen SS ‘Galicia’ Division.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 54(3-4): 443-467.

Khromeychuk, Olesya. 2018. “From the Maidan to the Donbas: The Limitations of Choice for Women in Ukraine.” Pp. 47-78 in *Gender and Choice in the Post-Soviet Context*, edited by L. Atwood, M. Yusupova, and E. Schimpfoessl. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). 2014. “Dumka ta pohliady zhyteliv pivdenno-skhidnykh oblestej Ukraïny: kviten’ 2014.” April 20. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=302&page=1).

Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). 2016. “Dovira do sotsial’nykh instytutsij ta hrup.” January 15. Retrieved March 9, 2019 (http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=579).

Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). 2017. “Dovira Sotsial’nym Instytutsiiam.” February 1. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=678).

Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). 2019. “Dovira Sotsial’nym Instytutsiiam, hruden’ 2018 r.” January 29. Retrieved March 9, 2019 (https://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=817&page=1).

Kis, Oksana. 2006. “Koho oberihaie Berehynia abo matriarkhat iak cholovichyi vynakhid.” *Hendernyi Zhurnal “Ia”* 4(16): 18-23.

Kissane, Rebecca Joyce and Sarah Winslow. 2016. “‘You’re Underestimating Me and You Shouldn’t’: Women’s Agency in Fantasy Sports.” *Gender & Society* 30(5): 819-841.

Kostiuk, Bohdana. 2016. “Proekt ‘Iakby ne viina:’ pobachte soldata!” *Radio Svoboda*, May 22. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/27747729.html).

Kostiuk, Bohdana. 2017. “Iak pletut’ maskuval’ni sitky dlia frontu i khto tsym zaimaiet’sia v Ukraïni.” *Radio Svoboda*, August 15. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/28794741.html).

Koobak, Redi and Raili Marling. 2014. “The decolonial challenge: Framing post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe within transnational feminist studies.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 21(4): 330-343.

Korek, Janusz. 2009. “Central and Eastern Europe from a Postcolonial Perspective.” *Postcolonial Europe*, April 27. Retrieved January 4, 2019 (http://www.postcolonial-europe.eu/en/essays/60--central-and-eastern-europe-from-a-postcolonial-perspective).

Krasynska, Svitlana and Eric Martin. 2017. “The Formality of Informal Civil Society: Ukraine’s EuroMaidan.” *Voluntas* 28: 420-449.

Kudelia, Serhiy. 2014. “The House that Yanukovych Built.” *Journal of Democracy* 25(3): 19-34.

Kudelia, Serhiy. 2016. “The Donbas Rift.” *Russian Politics & Law* 54(1): 5-27.

Liutyi, Artem and Vitalii Hryn’ov. 2016. “Volonter: Na s’ohodni peresichnyi ukraïnets’ vzhe sam potrebyie dopomohy (video).” *Radio Svoboda*, May 31. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/27770973.html).

Mahmood, Saba. 2001. “Feminist theory, embodiment, and the docile agent: Some reflections on the Egyptian Islamic revival.” *Cultural Anthropology* 16 (2): 202-36.

Majewska, Ewa. 2011. “La Mestiza from Ukraine? Border Crossing with Gloria Anzaldúa.” *Signs* 37(1): 34-41.

Marling, Raili and Redi Koobak. 2017. “Intersections of Feminisms and Neoliberalism: Post-State-Socialist Estonia in a Transnational Feminist Framework.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Sudies* 38(3): 1-21.

Marples, David R. 2012. “Introduction: Historical Memory and the Great Patriotic War.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 54(3-4): 285-294.

Martin, Terry. 2001. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Martsenyuk, Tamara. 2015. “Hender i natsiia v Ukraïns’komu suspil’stvi: Masjulinnosti ta Ievromaidan 2013-2014.” *Hendernyi Zhurnal “Ia”* 1(37): 4-9.

Mayblin, Lucy, Piekut, Aneta and Gill Valentine. 2016. “‘Other’ Posts in ‘Other’ Places: Poland through a Postcolonial Lens?” *Sociology* 50(1): 60-76.

Mayer, Tamar. 2000. “Gender ironies of nationalism: setting the stage.” Pp. 1-24 in *Gender ironies of nationalism: sexing the nation*, edited by T. Mayer. London, UK: Routledge.

Ministry of Defence of Ukraine. 2019. “Zhinkam-vijs’kovosluzhbovtsiam dostupni vsi vijs’kovo-oblikovi spetsial’nosti riadovoho, serzhants’koho i starshyns’koho skladu.” March 6. Retrieved March 9, 2019 (http://www.mil.gov.ua/news/2019/03/06/zhinkam-vijskovosluzhbovczyam-dostupni-vsi-vijskovo-oblikovi-speczialnosti-ryadovogo-serzhantskogo-i-starshinskogo-skladu/?fbclid=IwAR3pYygx5tb-uwGDakzfKPJmdWUVPS4LUd_eznk4B5Qj9Wh8q7GzUE6AOqo).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2015. “14 zhovtniia – Den’ zakhysnyka Ukraïny!” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine*, August 14. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://mfa.gov.ua/ua/news-feeds/foreign-offices-news/40898-14-zhovtnyadeny-zahisnika-ukrajini-).

Mithers, Carol Lynn. 1986. “Missing in action: Women warriors in Vietnam.” *Cultural Critique* 3: 79-90.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 1991. “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.” Pp. 51-80 in *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, edited by C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

Moran, Mary H. 2010. “Gender, militarism, and peace-building: Projects of the postconflict moment.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39: 261-274.

National Police. 2014. “Medychna dopomoha nadana vzhe bil’she nizh 370 pravookhorontsiam.” 19 February. Retrieved on 3 March 2019 (http://old.npu.gov.ua/mvs/control/main/uk/publish/article/984266).

Nordstrom, Carolyn. 2005. “(Gendered) war.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 28: 399-411.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). 2016. “Report on the human rights situation in Ukraine: 16 August to 15 November 2016.” Geneva: OHCHR. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/UAReport16th_EN.pdf).

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). 2017. “Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ukraine.” Retrieved March 6, 2019 (https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/ReportCRSV_EN.pdf).

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). 2018. "Report on the human rights situation in Ukraine: 16 May to 15 August 2018." March 16. Retrieved March 6, 2019 (https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/ReportUkraineMay-August2018_EN.pdf).

Olszański, Tadeusz A. 2016. "Aftermath of the Maidan: Ukrainian society two years after the revolution." *OSW Commentary* 199: 1-9. Retrieved March 10, 2019 (https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2016-03-04/aftermath-maidan-ukrainian-society-two-years-after-revolution).

Onuch, Olga. 2014a. "Maidans Past and Present: Comparing the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan." Pp. 27-56 in *Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society: Ukraine's Euromaidan: Analyses of a Civil Revolution*, edited by D. R. Marples and F. V. Mills. Stuttgart, Germany: *ibidem*-Verlag.

Onuch, Olga. 2014b. "Who Were the Protesters?" *Journal of Democracy* 25(3): 44-51.

Onuch, Olga and Tamara Martsenyuk. 2014. "Mothers and Daughters of the Maidan: Gender, Repertoires of Violence, and the Division of Labour in Ukrainian Protests." *Social, Helath, and Communication Studies Journal* 1(1): 80-101.

Ortega, Luisa Maria Dietrich. 2012. Looking beyond violent militarized masculinities. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14(4): 489-507.

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). 2015. *Thematic Report: Civil society and the crisis in Ukraine*. February 11. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.osce.org/special-monitoring-mission-to-ukraine/141046).

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). 2016. *Thematic Report: Conflict-related Displacement in Ukraine: Vulnerabilities of Affected Populations and Triggers of Tension within Communities*. July. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.osce.org/ukraine-smm/261176?download=true).

Owczarzak, Jill. 2009. "Introduction: Postcolonial studies and postsocialism in Eastern Europe." *Focaal – European Journal of Anthropology* 53(2009): 3-19.

United Nations. 2015. "Zahal'nonatsional'ne doslidzhennia 'Volonterstvo v Ukraiini.'" *United Nations*. Retrieved February 21, 2019 (http://www.un.org.ua/images/volunteer.pdf).

Pankhurst, Donna. 2004. "The 'sex war' and other wars: towards a feminist approach to peace building." *Development in Practice* 11(2/3): 154-177.

Parashar, Swati. 2014. *Women and militant wars: The politics of injury*. London, UK: Routledge.

Peterson, V. Spike. 2007. "Thinking through Intersectionality and War." *Race, Gender and Class* 4(3/4): 10-27.

Phillips, Sarah. 2005. "Civil Society and Healing: Theorizing Women's Social Activism in Post-Soviet Ukraine." *Ethnos* 70(4): 489-514.

Phillips, Sarah. 2014. "The Women's Squad in Ukraine's Protests: Feminism, Nationalism, and Militarism on the Maidan." *American Ethnologist* 41(3): 414-26.

Polians'ka, Yana. 2017. "Den' zakhysnyka Ukraïny: sviato viis'ka chy vitannia cholovikam?" *Radio Svoboda*, August 13. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/28791754.html).

Poroshenko, Petro. 2015. "14 Zhovtnia – sviato vsikh khto liubyt' Ukraïnu." *You-Tube Web site*. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QIQqh2tH0qM).

Puleri, Marco. 2017. "Hybridity Reconsidered: Ukrainian Border Crossing after the 'Crisis'" *Ab Imperio* 2/2017: 257-286.

Razumkov Centre. 2017. "Stavlennia hromadian Ukraïny do suspil'nykh instytutiv, elektoral'ni oriientatsiï." Retrieved March 9, 2019 (http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/Press0417.pdf).

Razumkov Centre. 2018. "Natsional'na bezpeka i oborona." Retrieved March 14, 2019 (http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/journal/ukr/NSD175-176_2018_ukr.pdf).

Razumkov Centre. 2019. "Riven' doviry do suspil'nykh instytutiv ta elektoral'ni oriientatsii hromadian Ukraiiny." Retrieved March 9, 2019 (http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/2019_02_press.pdf).

Read, Rosie. 2014. "Images of Care, Boundaries of the State: Volunteering and Civil Society in Czech Health Care." *Social Analysis* 58(3): 90-106.

Riley, Robin L. 2008. Women and war: Militarism, bodies, and the practice of gender. *Sociology Compass* 2(4): 1192-1208.

Roman, Meredith L. 2002. "Making Caucasians Black: Moscow Since the Fall of Communism and the Racialization of Non-Russians." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18(2): 1-27.

Rubchak, Marian J. 2001. "In Search of a Model: Evolution of a Feminist Consciousness in Ukraine and Russia." *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 8(2): 149-160.

Sahadeo, Jeff. 2016. “Black Snouts Go Home! Migration and Race in Late Soviet Leningrad and Moscow.” *The Journal of Modern History* 88: 797-826.

Sakwa, Richard. 2015. “Ukraine and the postcolonial condition.” *openDemocracy,* September 18. Retrieved January 4, 2019 (https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/ukraine-and-postcolonial-condition/).

Sasson-Levy, Orna. 2003. “Feminism and Military Gender Practices: Israeli Women Soldiers in ‘Masculine’ Roles.” *Sociological Inquiry* 73(3): 440-465.

Schemenauer, Ellie. 2012. “Victims and Vamps, Madonnas and Whores: The Constrution of Female Drug Couriers and the Practices of the US Security State.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14(1): 83-102.

Scott, Joan Wallach. 1999. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Segal, Lynne. 2008. “Gender, war, and militarism: making and questioning the links.” *Feminist Review* 88: 21-35.

Shamayda, Taras. 2016. “Стан української мови. Щорічний моніторинг.” Тиждень, November 8. Retrieved January 11, 2017 (https://tyzhden.ua/Infographics/177977).

Shepherd, L. 2006. “Veiled References: Constructions of Gender in the Bush Administration Discourse on the Attacks on Afghanistan Post-9/11.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8(1): 19-41.

Shevel, Oxana. 2011. “The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: A Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine.” *Slavic Review* 70(1): 137-164.

Stacey, Judith. 1988. Can there be a feminist ethnography? *Women’s Studies International Forum* 11(1): 21-27.

State Statistics Service of Ukraine. 2001. “Pro kil’kist’ ta sklad naselennia Ukraiiny za pidsumkamy Vseukraiins’koho perepysu naselennia 2001 roku.” Retrieved March 3, 2019 (http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/).

Stiehm, Judith. 1982. “The Protected, the Protector, the Defender.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 5(3/4): 367-376.

Thompson, Martha and Deborah Eade. 2004. “Women and war: protection through empowerment in El Salvador.” Pp. 220-237 in *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives,* edited by H. Afshar and D. Eade. Oxford, UK: Oxfam GB.

Tickner, Anne. 1992. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tlostanova, Madina. 2012. “Postsocialist ≠ postcolonial? On post-Soviet imaginary and global coloniality.” *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 48(2): 130-142.

Tlostanova, Madina. 2015. “Between the Russian/Soviet dependencies, neoliberal delusions, dewesternizing options, and decolonial drives.” *Cultural Dynamics* 27(2): 267-283.

Tlostanova, Madina, Thapar-Bjorkert, Suruchi, and Redi Koobak. 2016. “Border thinking and disidentification: Postcolonial and postsocialist feminist dialogues.” *Feminist Theory* 17(2): 211-228.

Torbakov, Igor. 2016. “Ukraine and Russia: Entangled Histories, Contested Identities, and a War of Narratives.” Pp. 89-120 in *Revolution and War in Contemporary Ukraine*, edited by O. Bertelsen. Stuttgart: *ibidem*-Verlag.

Törnquist-Plewa, Barbara and Yuliya Yurchuk. 2017. “Memory politics in contemporary Ukraine: Reflections from the postcolonial perspective.” *Memory Studies*, 1-22.

Torop, Oksana. 2018. “Iak v Ukraïni dolaiut’ dyskryminatsiiu zhinok v armiï.” *BBC*, July 6. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-44722205).

Traynor, Ian and Shaun Walker. 2014. “Ukraine violence: dozens killed as protesters clash with armed police.” *The Guardian*, 20 February. Retrieved March 3, 2019 (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/20/ukraine-protesters-force-riot-police-independence-square-kiev-battle-control).

TSN. 2015. “Vse shcho potribno znaty pro mobilizatsiiu.” Retrieved October 1, 2018 (http://tsn.ua/special-projects/mobilization/).

Ukraïns’ka Pravda. 2018. “V OON pidrakhuvaly kil’kist’ zhertv cherez viinu na Donbasi.” April 21. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2018/04/21/7178339/).

Unian. 2015. “Poroshenko nazvav kil’kist’ mobilizovanykh protiahom shesty cherh mobilizatsiï.” August 24. Retrieved October 1, 2018 (https://www.unian.ua/war/1114740-poroshenko-nazvav-kilkist-mobilizovanih-protyagom-shesti-cherg-mobilizatsiji.html).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2015. “International Protection Considerations related to developments in Ukraine – Update II.” January. Retrieved March 6, 2019 (http://www.refworld.org/docid/54c639474.html).

Vogel, Ann. 2006. “Who’s making global civil society: philanthropy and US empire in world society.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 57(4): 635 – 655.

Volosevych, Inna. 2016. “Ukraiina: pidsumky Revoljutsiii Hidnosti. Jak zminylasja kraiina i narod.” *Vox Ukraine,* August 31. Retrieved Feburary 28. 2019 (https://voxukraine.org/uk/pre-and-post-war-ukraine-ua/).

Vorona, Valerij and Mykola Shulga, eds. 2013. “Ukrainian society 1992-2013. Current state and dynamics of change. Sociological monitoring.” *Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*. Retrieved March 3, 2019 (https://i-soc.com.ua/assets/files/monitoring/soc-mon-2013.pdf).

Weiner, Amir. 2001. *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wilson, Andrew. 2005. *Ukraine’s Orange Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

World Bank. 2019. “GDP (current US$) Ukraine.” *World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files*. Retrieved March 6, 2019 (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=UA).

Worschech, Susan. 2017. “New Civic Activism in Ukraine: Building Society from Scratch?” *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal* 3: 23-45.

Young, Iris Marion. 2003. “The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State.” *Signs* 29(11): 1-25.

Yuval-Davis, Nina. 1997. *Gender and nation*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Zdravomyslova, Elena and Anna Temkina. 2012. “The Crisis of Masculinity in Late Soviet Discourse” *Russian Studies in History* 51(2): 13-34.

Zelinska, Olga. 2017. “Ukrainian Euromaidan protest. Dynamics, causes, and aftermath.” *Sociology Compass* 11(9): 1-12.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2001. “Free Market Ideology and New Women’s Identities in Post-socialist Ukraine.” *The European Journal of Women’s Studies* 8(1): 29-49.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2012. “Gender, Nation, and Reproduction: Demographic Discourses and Politics in Ukraine after the Orange Revolution.” Pp. 131-151 in *Gender, Politics and Society in Ukraine,* edited by O. Hankivsky and A. Salnykova. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

CURRICULUM VITAE